







THE  
LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

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‘RICHELIEU,’ “DARNLEY,” “MEMOIRS OF THE BLACK PRINCE,”  
&c. &c.

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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
**AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,**  
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&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED  
AS AN UNWORTHY TRIBUTE OF  
ADMIRATION AND RESPECT  
FOR HIS NOBLE, ZEALOUS, AND ENLIGHTENED EFFORTS  
TOWARDS THE ADVANCEMENT OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE  
IN THIS COUNTRY,  
BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

**G. P. R. JAMES.**



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# THE LIFE AND TIMES

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### CHAPTER I.

**Birth of Louis XIV.—Some particulars concerning the character and situation of Anne of Austria.—Adventures of La Porte.—Reconciliation of the King and Queen.—Conduct of the Courtiers on the Birth of a Dauphin.—Birth of a second Son.—Conspiracies against Richelieu.—His Death.—Intrigues which followed.—The King's Will.—Lingering Illness and Death of Louis XIII.—Sketch of Society in France previous to his Death.**

**COULD** the astrologer, Morin, who was concealed in the chamber of Anne of Austria at the moment when she was giving birth to Louis XIV, have really foretold the fate of the child who was at that instant ushered into being, how strange, how overpowering would have been the vision of the future which his eye beheld! How astounding would it have been to have looked forward upon the change which that one man's life wrought upon the state of society in Europe : to have beheld in one glance



dered his birth remarkable, as well as the times in which it took place. Notwithstanding the great changes that were daily brought about by the progress of the human mind, the age was an age of superstition scarcely less dark than that which preceded the Reformation; and the belief in judicial astrology was as potent as ever. Connected with it was a reliance on all those pretended sciences which affect to interpret the future from the accidents of the day; and we find a thousand instances of extraordinary credulity recorded of persons whose mind and station ought to have elevated them above all vulgar prejudices.

No one appears to have placed more implicit confidence in the dreams of astrology than Anne of Austria herself, the mother of the after monarch; and a curious instance is related by La Porte of the importance which she attached to any accident which might be considered as an omen. In the course of a journey to Fontainebleau which she performed in a litter borne by mules, one of the animals fell; but instead of expressing or experiencing any alarm from the accident which had occurred to the frail and dangerous vehicle in which she was borne, her sole apprehension seemed to be, what might be prognosticated by the fall of the mule, and she instantly despatched a messenger to Paris in order to consult an Italian astrologer of the name of Nerli. This person was attached to the

household of Madame de Combalet ;\* and it must be remarked, that such an appendage as an Italian charlatan, to calculate nativities and prognosticate the coming events, was at that time common in the houses of the high French nobility, while the domestic fool or jester had become rare. No little importance was attached, even by the ministers of the crown, to the announcements made by these diviners ; and in one instance, the possession of the king's horoscope was employed as a serious charge against one of the monarch's physicians, who in vain endeavoured to justify himself by asserting that it was a part of every physician's duty to possess a document of such importance in reference to the health and welfare of his patient.

Alchymy, practised through so many ages, and scoffed at by scientific philosophers of all epochs, was nevertheless still followed with avidity, and looked upon with reverence ; and even Richelieu himself,—the keen-sighted, the reasoning, the penetrating Richelieu,—not only united with the king in giving credence to the assertion of a quack who

\* Marie de Vignerot, niece of Cardinal de Richelieu, married to Monsieur de Combalet, and afterwards created Duchess of Aiguillon. In the patent which raises Aiguillon to a duchy in her favour, is the most extraordinary clause perhaps that ever was inserted in such an instrument, giving remainder to any person she chose to name. The words are, " Pour en jouir par ladite dame, ses héritiers et successeurs, tant mâles que femelles, tels qu'elle voudra choisir."

declared he could make gold, but showed the full extent of his credulity, by the cruel virulence he displayed on finding himself deceived. The unhappy charlatan, named Dubois, who had thus dared to trifle with the expectations of the sanguinary minister, was instantly thrown into one of the dungeons of the Bastile, from which he was only drawn for private execution.

We can little wonder, then, that when Anne of Austria, after having been married for more than twenty-two years without bearing children, found herself likely to give an heir to the French throne, she should look forward to the birth of her child with that degree of anxiety most likely to excite her imagination, and call into play all the superstitious feelings of her nature. The whole nation experienced in some degree similar sensations ; and it is probable that there were few people in France who looked with any degree of contempt or reprehension upon the concealment of the astrologer in the queen's cabinet, or refused to give some share of belief to his predictions in regard to the future monarch.

Anne of Austria, indeed, was in every respect peculiarly situated ; and had the birth of Louis XIV. produced such changes in her favour as she had a right to expect, she might well have added to his name the epithet of "*Dieu-donné*," which the people did not fail to attach to him. From the time of her marriage, when she entered France a mere

child, she had lived a life of little else than misery, the victim of political intrigues, the object of persecution to an ambitious and tyrannical minister, and a slave to the caprices of a weak and moody king. The year, however, which preceded the birth of Louis XIV. had been marked by circumstances of peculiar pain.

That the queen had imprudently carried on a forbidden correspondence with her relations in Spain, there can be no doubt; and it is also certain that she had held various communications with other powers at that time actually hostile to France: and however innocent might be the nature of this intercourse, it naturally exposed her to the just indignation of the king and of his minister. She thus by her conduct, regarded under its best point of view, justified that persecution which had begun in injustice: but it must not be concealed that there is every reason to believe, from the confession of La Porte, her most faithful attendant, that her communication with foreign powers was by no means devoid of political intrigue, and was directed to objects directly opposed to the purposes and views of Richelieu. Thus, in conjunction with the Duchess of Chevreuse, she endeavoured to keep the Duke of Lorraine in a state of hostility towards France; and when he at length was persuaded by the cardinal prime minister to disband his army, and for a time resign himself to his fate, she took a curious method of reproach-

ing him for his folly. She caused a cap to be made (then called a *tababare*) of green velvet cut with yellow, laced with gold, and surmounted by a bunch of green and yellow plumes, which might well pass for a highly ornamented fool's cap. This she sent post-haste to the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy, by one of her confidential attendants, through whose means she had previously carried on some correspondence with him, and who was also the bearer of a letter on the present occasion. As soon as the duke saw him, he recognised an attendant of the Queen of France, and took him into his cabinet, where he received the letter of that princess. While he read, the officer, according to his instructions, stuck the plume in the cap, and then presented it to him in the name of the queen. The duke immediately put it on his head, and advanced to a mirror, the figure reflected from which immediately showed him the meaning of the present he had received. He took the queen's railery in good part, however, and laughed so heartily at the sight as to astonish all those without by the merriment which the French messenger had occasioned at a moment when so little cause existed for any joyful feelings.

La Porte, the messenger to whom the execution of this burlesque reproach had been entrusted, was also the person through whose instrumentality a great part of the queen's correspondence was carried on with Spain and the Low Countries. He

in general forwarded the letters and received the answers; and as the queen was too closely watched to put the correspondence in cypher herself, or to decypher the answers she received, that task was likewise allotted to La Porte.

The principal agent out of France employed in facilitating the queen's intercourse with her family and friends, was the Marquis de Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador in the Low Countries; and a letter from Anne of Austria to him having been intercepted by Richelieu, afforded that famous minister some intimation of the extent and nature of the queen's correspondence with the enemies of the state. Suspicion immediately fell upon La Porte; and the queen having been unexpectedly ordered to join the king at Chantilly, left her faithful attendant behind in Paris, to conclude those arrangements which she had not time to finish herself previous to her departure. In his hands she left a letter to be conveyed to the Duchess of Chevreuse, whose intrigues had by this time exiled her from the court. This letter was to be conveyed by a gentleman of the name of Thibaudière. But it would seem that he had been engaged by Richelieu to betray La Porte, and upon being offered the letter, — which, amongst other matters, informed Madame de Chevreuse that the bearer would give her farther intelligence, — he begged the queen's attendant to keep it till the next day, saying that he was afraid of losing it. La Porte consented,

and was in consequence drawn into a series of misfortunes, which I shall relate as nearly as possible in his own words, as his account affords a picture of the state of society at the time which is to be met with in no other writer.

After quitting Thibaudière, he proceeded to the house of Guitaut, captain of the guards, who was ill, and with whom he remained for several hours. It was still light, however, when he left him ; and at the junction of the Rue des Vieux Augustins with the Rue Coquillière he saw a carriage standing, with a coachman dressed in grey. He took no notice, however, and was passing on ; but just between the corner of the street and the carriage, he was seized from behind by some one who placed his hands over his eyes and pushed him on towards the coach. Before he could make any resistance, he was grasped by several other hands, which placed him in the carriage : the doors, which were, as was then common, without glass, were closed, and he was thus carried away in darkness, without knowing by whom he had been arrested. At length the carriage stopped ; some gates through which it had passed were shut, the doors of the carriage were opened, and La Porte found himself in the court of the Bastile, with five of the king's musketeers in the carriage, and fifteen or sixteen others round about him. On getting out of the vehicle, his person was searched, and the letter of the queen taken from him ; after which he was led

over the drawbridge, and passed between two ranks of musketeers, with matches lighted, and every other ceremony which could impress him with the belief that the crimes with which he was charged were of the darkest character. He was kept in the guard-house of the garrison for half an hour, while a dungeon was prepared for him, which they took care to let him know had been last inhabited by the unfortunate Dubois, who a few days previous had been led to execution for deceiving the king and his minister by a promise of producing gold. He was then conducted to the well-known tower in which such prisoners were placed as the implacable Richelieu destined for speedy death, and was thrust into a dungeon closed with three doors, one within, one without, and one half-way through the thick wall. The room was lighted, if lighted it could be called, by a window, or rather loophole, pierced through the thick masonry, and which, though four feet wide in the interior of the dungeon, did not afford an aperture of more than three inches in diameter on the outside. This also was closed by three iron gratings, so as to cut off all means of communication either by voice or signal with those without. A table and a wretched bed composed all the furniture the dungeon contained, except a bed of straw for one of the soldiers, who was placed to keep guard over the prisoner even in that miserable abode.

After a scanty supper, the unhappy La Porte lay



down upon his bed, and endeavoured to find forgetfulness in sleep. But scarcely had he closed his eyes, when he heard the report of a musket, which alarmed the soldier more than himself, as the prisoner was not aware whether the occurrence might be ordinary or not. It was followed, however, by a loud call to arms; and after the musketeer had in vain tormented himself and his companion with noisy conjectures regarding the cause of the alarm, they heard the door of the dungeon open from without, and a stranger was thrust in upon them in the dark. This proved to be a young man of the name of Herce, in regard to whom La Porte makes use of a singular expression, which may serve to show for what purposes the state prisons of France were at that time frequently employed. "He was," says the queen's attendant, "a relation of the chancellor, and a young man whom his mother kept in prison in order to *ripen him*." From the extraordinary hothouse thus selected by maternal love, Monsieur de Herce had endeavoured to make his escape with two other gentlemen kept in prison upon scarcely more reasonable grounds. Having what was then called "the liberties of the Bastile," that is to say, not being kept in close confinement, they had contrived to communicate with their friends without, and had horses prepared to carry them away: they had next attached a thick rope to one of the towers close to the Porte St. An-

toine,\* and contrived to have the other end made fast to that gate itself. Upon the rope ran three strong rings, from each of which hung a lesser rope furnished with a stout cross-bar of wood at the end; and, seated upon these bars, to which they were to tie themselves with their scarfs, they proposed to glide down the larger rope, at the risk of being dashed violently against the Porte St. Antoine: that danger, however, was lessened by the thick rope not being stretched very tight. Everything had been prepared during the darkness of a cloudy night, and the three prisoners were about to make their aërial exit from the place of their involuntary abode, when the moon maliciously broke through the clouds, and discovered the rope to one of the sentinels, who instantly fired his musket and spread the alarm.

Notwithstanding the narrowness of his apartment, La Porte seems to have been glad of his new companion's society. But he was not long allowed to remain unmolested, and to habituate himself in tranquillity to the monotonous life of a prisoner. Scarcely had he dined on the following day, when a sergeant appeared to inform him that he must go down stairs. La Porte, not a little terrified, demanded for what purpose? but he could obtain no reply; and at the bottom of the stairs he found six soldiers, who surrounded him so as

\* One of the gates of Paris, close to the Bastile.

to prevent him from holding communication with any one as he passed. He was then led across the court, through a number of prisoners who had the liberties of the Bastille, and who ranged themselves in line to see him pass. Some shrugged their shoulders and gave him looks of compassion, which, like the compassion of the world in general, only went far enough to aggravate the evil, persuading him that he was destined to speedy execution. Amongst the rest whom he beheld, however, was the celebrated Chevalier de St. Jars, one of the firmest and most resolute men of his day, who, recognising in the prisoner an attached attendant of the queen, placed his finger on his lips, as if to enjoin him to maintain with regard to his mistress's secrets the same determined silence which he himself would have shown under similar circumstances.

La Porte was now led to the apartments of the governor, where he found the well-known La Potterie,\* who began to examine him in regard to the letter which had been found upon his person, asking him who had been destined to be the bearer thereof. Not suspecting the treachery of Thibaudière, and knowing that there was no absolute prohibition of the correspondence between the queen and Madame de Chevreuse, La Porte replied that he intended to have sent it by the post. La Potterie, however, argued from various expressions in the letter, that the prisoner was either to

have carried it himself, or to have transmitted it by some person known to Madame de Chevreuse : but finding that he could not make him waver in his answer, the judge produced a number of other letters which La Porte had received from Madame de Chevreuse, and which now served to show him that his apartments had been entered and his papers seized.

Although several passages in these letters were written in cypher, especially the names of persons mentioned, the matter they contained was of no great importance. One thing, however, caused the most mortal terror to poor La Porte, which was the apprehension that those who had been sent to examine his apartments might have discovered a hole in the corner of a window, covered by a piece of the plaster, so neatly cut away as scarcely to leave the separation perceptible, and behind which were concealed all the most important papers he possessed,—the letters to and from Spain, and the key to the cypher in which they were written. It is very clear, from La Porte's own account, that this receptacle contained sufficient matter to have brought his head to the block without farther trouble, and to have proved the destruction of the queen.

Such considerations terrified him, as well they might ; but he gained courage shortly after, when La Potterie proceeded to examine him on various points which he would naturally have treated in a

very different way had he been possessed of the stores of information which that repository would have afforded. He soon saw, that though Richelieu perhaps might possess some vague information, he had not yet arrived at any certainty; and he determined in consequence to persevere in denying everything that he was not forced to acknowledge. The examination continued during two hours; at the end of which time La Potterie, finding that he could draw nothing from the prisoner, caused him to sign his deposition, and ordered him to be taken back to his dungeon.

Twice after this examination La Potterie returned to the Bastile in order to interrogate the prisoner, leaving a day's interval between each visit; so that poor La Porte compares the mental torture to which he was subjected, to the fits of an intermittent fever. On his third visit the magistrate endeavoured to draw from the prisoner some information in regard to the correspondence which the queen was supposed to carry on through some of the sisters of the Val de Grace, in which convent she had a room and an oratory appropriated to herself; but La Porte maintained the same general denial of all knowledge of the subject. His interrogator ended, however, by telling him that a letter from the queen to the Marquis de Mirabel had been intercepted and shown to her; and that she had not only avowed the correspondence, but acknow-

ledged that M. La Porte was the secret agent through whom it was carried on.

With such agreeable tidings La Potterie left him ; and it may easily be supposed that his alarm was not small when he reflected upon the nature of many of the letters to the Spanish ambassador in Flanders, and upon the character of the queen herself, by no means feeling sure that she might not have confessed the whole. “ In truth,” he says, “ that princess had the best intentions at bottom ; but if those who had influence with her held firm to their purpose, she soon gave way and came over to their opinion.” With such a person, he could of course feel no great security, and the very name of the Marquis de Mirabel was sufficient to cause him mortal apprehension. He was left for some time to meditate over his situation ; but at length, just as he was going to bed at night, the doors of his dungeon suddenly opened, and a sergent, with his followers, presented himself, and bade the prisoner descend to the court.

A conviction that they were about to put him to death instantly seized upon La Porte, who knew well that it was not uncommon to lead a prisoner to execution under cover of the darkness ; and he besought the sergent to tell him for what purpose he was called down at such an hour. The answer was anything but satisfactory. In the court he found a carriage and a body of archers of the police, and doubted no longer that he was going to death. In

this state he was carried along past all the ordinary places of execution in Paris, trembling at St. Paul's corner, his heart sinking at the cemetery of St. John and at the Place de Grève, and only feeling at all reassured when the coach drove by the famous Croix du Trahoir and approached the house of the chancellor. Having been joined by that minister, he was conducted to the building which is now known by the name of the Palais Royal, but which was then the ordinary dwelling of Richelieu ; and he there underwent a fresh examination, conducted by the stern prelate himself with that keen sagacity and eager determination which characterised all his actions. Finding, however, that La Porte could neither be embarrassed nor deceived, he adopted another system, and endeavoured to lure him to a confession by magnificent promises of reward, assuring him at the same time that he was betraying no trust, as the queen herself had made a full confession.

No turn that the most wily art could give, no menace that the most absolute power could have executed, no promise that the most unlimited means could have fulfilled, was neglected by Richelieu to entangle the prisoner, or to drive or induce him to betray his mistress. It was all in vain, however ; and at length the cardinal demanded the same questions which had been before asked by La Potterie, both in regard to the letter that had been found upon his person and to who was the person

that ought to have borne it to Madame de Chevreuse. To these La Porte replied as before, that he had intended to send the letter by the post, and he strongly asserted the veracity of the statement. Richelieu, however, burst forth vehemently, exclaiming, "You are a liar!—you would have given it to Thibaudière. You wished to give it him in the court of the Louvre; he begged of you to keep it till the next day, for fear of losing it: and after that, you expect me to believe you! As in a thing of no consequence you do not speak the truth, I ought not certainly to believe you in others. Now, then, what say you to that?"\*

Though thunderstruck with this blow, La Porte followed the wisest plan that he could adopt, and seeing that concealment in this instance was vain, acknowledged the fact; on which Richelieu reprimanded him for his want of truth, and asked him why he had had recourse to such petty art. The prisoner replied ingenuously, that he had been afraid of ruining the fortunes of a gentleman, his friend, for a thing of no importance; to which the cardinal answered with a sneer, that he was wonderfully considerate. Richelieu then commanded him to write to the queen, denying that he had aided in the correspondence which she had avowed; but La Porte replied, that he dared not address his mistress in such terms. "Good, now! we shall see him as respectful as faithful!" exclaimed Richelieu.

\* These are recorded as the cardinal's exact words.



“ You shall have time to think over it ! You must return to the Bastile, however.”

La Porte had the impudence, of which impudence he does not seem to have been conscious, to put the cardinal in mind that he had promised him not to send him back to the Bastile if he told the truth. “ That is true,” replied Richelieu ; “ but you have not told the truth, and therefore back you must go.”

Several more questions, however, were asked by the chancellor ; but that officer was cut short by Richelieu, who exclaimed, “ There is nothing to be hoped for from him by gentle means, after the business of Thibaudière !” He was then made to sign his deposition, and conducted back to prison. Though irritated, Richelieu did not fail to appreciate and admire the firmness and fidelity of the queen’s attendant ; and he is said to have exclaimed, with that most bitter of all the many regrets which must cross the path of tyranny, “ that he wished he had one person so devotedly attached to him.”

After this, La Porte was forced to write a letter to the queen ; and an answer was produced, apparently signed by Anne of Austria, commanding him to tell the whole truth upon the points on which he might be examined. Still, however, the faithful servant held firm, doubting perhaps whether the letter was authentic, but convinced that, if it were, it had been obtained from the princess by force.

He was then forced to write another epistle to his mistress, who during the whole of this time was in agony lest her attendant should be either induced to confess facts which she herself had not avowed, or, by refusing to acknowledge conduct which she had admitted, should draw upon himself the horrid infliction of the rack. In this difficulty she had recourse to the beautiful and amiable Madame de Hautefort, whose deep attachment to Anne of Austria had caused her to reject the criminal affection of the king, not only with the calm determination of a virtuous mind, but with an appearance of disgust which soon turned the monarch's love to enmity. She undertook at once the dangerous and difficult task of conveying to La Porte, in a dungeon of the Bastile, correct information in regard to what the queen had really confessed, and what she had denied.

At that period the Bastile was furnished with a grate similar to that of a convent, and through this the prisoners who had the liberties of the Bastile were permitted to speak with their friends. By means of this grate Madame de Hautefort, disguised in the dress of a *femme de chambre*, contrived to communicate with the Chevalier de Jars, and he again found a way of conveying the tidings with which she furnished him to La Porte. No slight ingenuity, indeed, was required to accomplish the latter undertaking; and the only method that could be found was, to open a communication

with the prisoners in the tower above. A stone was broken in the pavement of the terrace at the top of the tower, a hole bored into the room in which were confined some inferior prisoners from Bordeaux; these prisoners, again, were easily induced to pierce the flooring of their room to that below; and the Baron de Tenence and another prisoner, who occupied that chamber, made a third hole down into the dungeon of La Porte. All aided eagerly in these transactions; for, as La Porte himself says, "it is impossible to conceive the charities of fellow-prisoners one for another;" and a regular system of communication was soon established between the Chevalier de Jars and the queen's attendant. The moment that the soldier who kept guard over him was gone, notice was given to those above; a string descended through the apertures that had been made, bearing the notes of the Chevalier de Jars, and carrying back the answers of La Porte; in order to write which, he had been obliged to compose a sort of ink of burnt straw, and oil saved from the salad of his supper. Means were afterwards taken, however, to convey to him pens, ink, and paper; and he soon communicated to the queen the joyful intelligence that he had in no degree betrayed her, and obtained in return such information as put his life and liberty out of danger.

All this had been accomplished just in time, for the next person who was sent to interrogate him was

the infamous Lafeymas, one of the most debased and sanguinary tools of Richelieu's tyranny, who did everything that was possible to cajole the unfortunate prisoner, to terrify or to entrap him. He now embraced him; he now harangued him; he now promised him the highest honours and rewards; he now endeavoured to persuade him that a full confession would be for the queen's interests: he now exhorted him to perform the noblest action in the world, and assured him that by speaking one word he would be the cause of a reconciliation between the king and queen. All this was accompanied by kisses and embraces, till at length, finding that La Porte was not a baby to be won by such sweet things, he suddenly changed his tone, saying that he saw the prisoner was determined upon his own destruction, and, drawing forth a paper, showed him his condemnation to the question ordinary and extraordinary. He then made him go down into the chamber of the rack, where all the instruments of torture were displayed before him; and Lafeymas and the sergeant took pains to point out to him the planks, the cordage, the wedges, &c. dilating upon the method of their application and the agony which they caused.

La Porte of course experienced the sensations which such a sight was naturally calculated to produce: but he was prepared, however, to avoid the fate which was thus displayed before him; and, acknowledging that he had something to confess,

he offered to avow it if one of the queen's attendants were brought on the part of Anne of Austria, to command him in her name to reveal all he knew. Lafeymas in return demanded which of the queen's attendants he would wish; and he immediately named La Rivière, an intimate friend of the judge, and one who, he well knew; could be brought to say *anything that the court and the cardinal wished*. Lafeymas, delighted, immediately notified to Richelieu his success; and La Rivière, well instructed what he was to say, was confronted with La Porte, and delivered to him an imaginary message from the queen, commanding him, in a tone of displeasure, to confess everything that he knew concerning her.

La Porte pretended to believe the whole, and said that since such was the case he would immediately confess everything, though, had he not received such an order, he would have suffered a thousand deaths sooner than have opened his mouth. He then deposed to exactly the same facts which the queen had acknowledged, according to the private instructions he had received, and positively denied that anything more had taken place. Convinced by the similarity of the confession that he had arrived at the ultimate truth, Richelieu abandoned for the time the persecution of the queen and La Porte, and, to use the words of a contemporary, left them to rejoice that even the foxes of the Palais Cardinal had found some cunninger

beasts in the world than themselves. A reconciliation took place between the king and queen, which was complete for the time. Louis XIII. sent for his wife to St. Maur, where he had been spending some days, and on their return to Paris, that cold and painful separation was done away with, which had so long existed between them. Shortly after, Anne of Austria proved pregnant of a son, who, La Porte naïvely says, might well be called the child of his silence.

Of course Anne of Austria had suffered greatly while these proceedings were taking place. The terror of Richelieu's indignation, or the expectation of rewards and advantages, led almost the whole court to abandon the queen; so that, even in crossing the quadrangle of the palace she inhabited, the courtiers dropped their eyes to the ground, for fear they should be suspected of giving one look of compassion towards the victim of him who, for the time, held the horn of plenty in his hand.\*

Two members of the court, however, showed a nobler spirit,—the Marchioness Seneçay and the famous Count de Brienne. The one showed herself

\* Although the courtiers of Louis XIII. had by this time become basely subservient to the Cardinal de Richelieu, the people were by no means either so much awed by his power, or so much terrified by its unsparing exercise, as to abstain from that sort of cutting satire for which the French are particularly famous. Pasquinades, couplets, and libels of every kind, were common in Paris during the sway of that minister; and in them, designs upon the throne itself were openly imputed to him,

almost as much afflicted as her mistress herself at the treatment which Anne of Austria received ; the other hastened down to Chantilly, to comfort and advise her at the time that she was abandoned by almost every one else. Some degree of consolation, however, was in store for Anne of Austria ; and the very rumour that she was likely at length to give an heir to the French throne called in a moment around her all those base and sycophantic courtiers who had fled from her during her misfortunes.

The long period which Anne of Austria had remained the wife of Louis XIII. without giving birth to a child either male or female, caused the fact of her proving pregnant to excite all the love of the marvellous which existed so strongly in that day, and produced an equal portion of scandal at an after period. It was busily circulated throughout Paris, and seems to have been believed by the Count de Brienne himself, that, before the least whisper of the queen's situation had got abroad, a Carmelite monk announced the fact to the Cardinal de Rochefoucault, in consequence of an express revelation made to that effect. The Count

him, as is exemplified in the following verses, written about the time of the birth of Louis XIV.

Martel, Capet, et Du Plessis  
Ont voulu tous trois être assis  
Dessus le trône de la France.  
Les deux premiers l'ont usurpé  
Mais au tiers il est échappé,  
Grace à la Divine Puissance !

de Brienne himself seems to have been one of the first to suspect the truth, without any revelation, except from seeing the queen in tears when there appeared no particular occasion for sorrow. With the unceremonious bluntness which he affected, he demanded at once whether what he suspected was the case, and the queen making no denial, the story of the monk's revelation and of the queen's pregnancy spread rapidly all over Paris.

It was not to be doubted that the birth of a child would give Anne of Austria much greater influence than she had ever yet possessed in France; but though a multitude of the flies of the court instantly winged their way towards the spot where the honey was likely to be found, a number of others were scattered in consternation and amazement at tidings which did away a great deal of their power or of their hopes. Richelieu himself was but little pleased at the prospect of a new tie springing up, not only between the king and queen, but between her and the nation. But the party which experienced the greatest mortification was that attached to the Duke of Orleans, hitherto the presumptive successor to the throne. The members of his faction, however, consoled themselves and him during the queen's pregnancy by prognosticating that the child would prove a girl, who of course could not succeed; and much and bitter was the disappointment felt when it was announced to the expecting people of France that Anne of Aus-



tria had given birth to a fine boy. The Count de Brienne, who was in attendance, was called in to the queen's chamber within a very few minutes after the birth of the infant; and the great joy and satisfaction expressed by the king, whom Brienne found sitting by the queen's bed-side, would be sufficient, without any other proof, to do away with a great part of the scandalous suspicions disseminated in after years regarding the real parentage of Louis XIV.

After Brienne had kissed the queen's hand, which she extended to him in gratitude for his attachment during her misfortunes, the king extended his also, exclaiming, "You share my joy: but it will cause bitter mortification to many a one."

Brienne, in reply, proposed a somewhat novel way of turning out a ministry: "You have nothing to do, sire," he said, "but to throw them out of the window."

The famous Chancellor Seguier, who was also present, seemed somewhat confused amidst all he saw and heard, and, turning to Brienne, demanded, "Who would have thought it a year ago?"

"If any one had, people would not have been at the Val de Grace," replied Brienne, alluding to the chancellor's search through that convent for the private papers of the queen.

Having touched upon the suspicions which have been thrown upon the birth of Louis XIV, it may not be amiss to remark, that the general supposi-

tion on which those suspicions have been founded, namely, that the queen had never before given promise of bearing children, is quite incorrect, as we learn from Bassompierre that she had previously miscarried in the year 1622, in consequence of an accident. Nor does there seem to be the slightest foundation whatsoever for the idle report which was also circulated at a later period, that Louis XIV. had a twin brother, who was afterwards concealed in order to prevent a contested succession. So many persons were in the room at the time of the future monarch's birth, so many were there immediately afterwards, and such are the precautions required by law in regard to the birth of a child of France, that it is scarcely possible such concealment could have taken place, even had not the king's desire for manifold offspring rendered the attempt as improbable as its execution would have been difficult.

Although there can be no doubt as to what were the feelings of Richelieu upon the occasion, yet he affected every external sign of joy; but the Duke of Orleans and his party were weak enough to show their disappointment by retiring suddenly to Blois. The birth of a second son, not long after, completely destroyed all hope of succeeding to the crown in the bosom of the Duke of Orleans; but Richelieu lost no part of his power over the mind of Louis XIII, and though his rule was intolerable to France and to the king himself, it continued with scarcely

any diminution to the end of his life. So long as that life was protracted, the existence of Anne of Austria ran on in the same troubled stream as before; and though some consolation was of course afforded to her by the birth of her two children, the tyrannical cardinal and the moody king contrived to make even those children a source of bitter anxiety to her, by threatening daily to separate her from them. All her most faithful attendants were dismissed; Madame de Hautefort and the Marchioness de Seneçay were driven from the court, and the charge of the royal children was committed to Madame de Lanzaç, a person peculiarly obnoxious to the queen.

Conspiracy now succeeded conspiracy, each having in view to overthrow the insupportable domination of Richelieu; and no new intrigue of the kind was discovered without furnishing matter for the persecution of the queen. The insurrection of the Count de Soissons took place in 1642, and was followed closely by the conspiracy of Cinq Mars; but in both the fortunes of the minister triumphed over his enemies. Both assumed a very dangerous aspect as regarded Richelieu. In the first, the royal army was totally and disgracefully defeated by the troops of the insurgent prince; and in the second, the king had to a certain degree become a party to the cabal against his own minister, looking on with no expression of dissatisfaction while measures were taken to procure that minister's fall,

his imprisonment, and perhaps his death. In the first, however, the great leader of the insurgents died in the moment of victory, by the hand, it is supposed, of an assassin. In the second, while Cinq Mars was doing everything in his power, by levity, insolence, and neglect, to disgust the king, and cast from him the favour he had obtained, —succeeding, indeed, to such a point, that Louis was known to exclaim, “Leave me, leave me ! for the last six months *I vomit you*,” — Richelieu, thoroughly informed, from the first,\* of all the proceedings of the conspirators, was taking the most effectual measures to sustain himself in power, by strengthening his foreign relations, and by making the safety of France depend upon his own. Thus, he even induced the Prince of Orange to send a formal declaration to the King of France, purporting, that if the great minister with whom he had hitherto treated were removed, he would immediately make peace with Spain. This declaration was delivered to the king by the Count

\* This is proved by the letters of Richelieu, Chavigni, and D'Estrades himself, from the 13th of May 1642, to the 4th of September in the same year, which give a more thorough insight into the policy of Richelieu and the conduct of the king upon this occasion than all the memoirs that have been written upon the subject. In the memoirs of Fontrailles, &c. the passions of the partisan give a colouring to the whole, of which it is impossible to divest it. In the letters and despatches the actors in that tragedy speak out for themselves, and we judge not alone from what they display, but from what they suffer to appear.

Estrades, very shortly after tidings had been received that the prince, by skilful manœuvres, and an extraordinary forced march, had saved the French army on the Rhine; and the double-dealing King of France did not fail to declare, that he had never for a moment contemplated the removal of his minister. The triumph of Richelieu was thus as complete in the latter as in the former conspiracy.

By throwing out dark hints that the queen might have had a share in each, Richelieu held the mind of Louis alienated from his wife, and deprived her of that influence which he had feared she would acquire as the mother of a future king of France.

The days of the ambitious minister, however, were numbered; and after having struggled long against the ravages of disease, he died on the 4th of December 1642, leaving the king apparently to act according to his own will. But the spirit of Richelieu reigned after him; and the impetus which he had given to every branch of the administration was diminished by very slow degrees, influencing the march of government for many years. No change took place in the cabinet of the king; there was a vacancy, but no alteration of system; and as the monarch himself was evidently about to follow the minister he had admired, and to whom he submitted without either loving or esteeming him, all eyes were turned towards one point, all lips were ready to worship the rising sun. Never-

theless, though the party of Anne of Austria now daily grew of greater importance, yet there wanted not persons to hint that the influence of Richelieu's memory over the mind of Louis XIII. was quite sufficient to exclude her from the monarch's nomination to the regency. That influence certainly was very great: the memory of Richelieu's high qualities might still remain when the weight of his insolent tyranny had been removed; but even at the very moment of the cardinal's death, Louis XIII. evinced not only indifference to the fate of the minister, but joy at his own deliverance. "I am at length king," he said; and though he some time after spoke of the cardinal's devout and edifying decease as giving assurance that he had reached a heavenly crown, he heard with a complacent smile one of the Gascon officers of his guard, who replied, "If the cardinal is in heaven, sire, the devil must have been robbed on the road."

\* The judgment of various men who lived under the rule of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and who had means of judging of his character, was as opposite as it is possible to conceive. The account of De Retz would very much lower him in our estimation; but it must be remarked, that in all the pictures given by that factious prelate, the tone of character is debased to bring it down to his own standard. He treats even murder, conspiracy, and civil war with so much familiarity, that they lose the dignity of horror. Perhaps the best and most impartial sketch of Richelieu by a contemporary hand is that of Bussy Rabutin. "Armand Jean Duplessis de Richelieu," he says, "was born with a mind both brilliant and solid, an imagination lively and fruitful, a heart elevated and capable of the greatest designs,

The first great alteration, however, which took place regarded the Duke of Orleans, who through life had been the enemy of the late minister, and though the tool of every faction, not less the tool of Richelieu himself. Only four days before the death of the cardinal, an edict had been published by the king, declaring the Duke of Orleans incapable of ever exercising the regency of the kingdom, depriving him of several of his posts, and, in fact, inflicting upon him that degree of punishment for the part he had taken in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars which his turbulent insig-<sup>ni</sup>ficance more than merited. The counsellors of the monarch, however, easily foresaw that many persons who were without power for good or evil during his life would

and possessed manners noble and engaging. He loved letters and the fine arts; he was liberal, magnificent, a good friend, raising those who served him—an implacable enemy, pardoning nothing. He had a fine countenance, full of gentleness, as may be remarked in his portraits; and there is every likelihood that his conduct would not have given the lie to his physiognomy, if he had had less ambition, or if it had been less fortunate. Supple, proud, haughty, patient, vindictive, natural, artificial, vain, modest, according to conjunctures, one might have said that the most opposite passions mastered him turn by turn: and nevertheless, to speak properly, he had but one,—which was the unbounded desire of reaching the first post which a subject can occupy, and maintaining himself therein at any price. All the others were, to speak properly, but, auxiliaries, and looked up to this as to their chief. 'He would bring them forth, or make them disappear, according as they were necessary or unnecessary to his ends, of which he never lost sight. He raised himself by art, and he sustained himself by talent.'

naturally rise into importance in the commencement of a new reign; and it is extraordinary to remark the various and manifold directions, the curious and tortuous paths, in which the creeping things of the cabinet sought to insinuate themselves into the good graces of whomsoever they judged likely to obtain a share of authority at an after period. All the last acts, in fact, of the reign of Louis XIII. are affected by this cause; and every deviation which took place from the policy of Richelieu may be attributed to the same motives.

All the ministers, well aware that the Duke of Orleans, from the very degree of consanguinity in which he stood to the existing and to the future king, must have great influence during a regency, failed not to advocate his interests, and to gain credit with him for his restoration to the court. The edicts against him were very soon annulled, and returning to St. Germain in the beginning of January 1643, he immediately commenced a cabal for the purpose of obtaining the regency.

Louis XIII, about the same time, either moved by remorse for the cruelty and injustice in which he had had a share, or willing to cast the load entirely upon Richelieu, suffered a multitude of exiles to return, and opened many a prison-door throughout France. Thousands of those who had been banished now flocked to the court; and all the discontented spirits of which Richelieu had purged the land, or which he had caged in the



Bastile, now flowed back again like the returning tide, and deluged the capital, from which they had been so long expelled. Multitudes of others, too, who had been feared by the minister, or had feared him in turn—multitudes who had been disgusted with his tyranny, or wronged by his power, hastened to return, in hopes of some advantage in the future, or some recompense for the past. Amongst others were Madame de Hautefort and the faithful La Porte, who had been liberated during the time of the queen's pregnancy, but ordered to remain at Saumur. The court, which in the days of Richelieu had been almost totally deserted, was now so completely thronged with guests, that the capital could scarcely contain them; and La Porte with his fair companion, after long searching for a lodging, at length got into a house which was proved not to possess the best of reputations.

In the mean time, the cabals and the intrigues at court of course went on, only accelerated, and yet complicated, by the multitude of fresh actors who were daily hurried upon the scene. All these as individuals strove for their own interests alone, as indeed is universal under such circumstances; but as the time for carrying on their intrigues was limited to the extent of the king's rapidly-declining life, the hurry with which all persons were obliged to wind along the tortuous paths of intrigue, the manner in which they jostled and ran against each other, the rapidity with which they cheated or

endeavoured to cheat every one, they encountered as they went, form a scene at once ludicrous and lamentable, but still striking, though so often enacted in the court and the cabinet. Brienne and De Noyers quitted their posts in the council; both, beyond doubt, influenced to a line of conduct apparently opposed to ambition, by the view of gaining a great deal under the regency of Anne of Austria for the little they sacrificed under Louis XIII. Brienne, with all his bluntness, however, took a step which De Noyers, with all his subtlety, failed to follow; and success, of course, rewarded precaution. On obtaining the king's permission to sell his post, Brienne stipulated with his sovereign that he should be always received at court with the same facility and the same favour as before; and that which as a demand appeared to Louis the strongest proof of his old servant's disinterested attachment, secured to Brienne, when it was granted, the opportunity of maintaining all his influence unimpaired. De Noyers went at once into retirement, and was of course forgotten.

More politic, more impudent, more persevering, however, than any other, was the person destined to act the most conspicuous part in the regency, and to govern France by his power over those who governed. Mazarin had been admitted into the council on the very day of Richelieu's death;\* and

\* According to the date of a letter cited by Aubery, it was the day after.

it is evident that from the first he had exercised a great deal of influence over the mind of the king. The retirement of the Count de Brienne from office removed one of those whom he had principally to fear; and the removal of De Noyers was instantly followed by the appointment of the well-known Le Tellier, a friend of Mazarin, to the office of secretary of state.

It has been said of Le Tellier by one of the best French historians, that by never pretending to the first place he always made sure of the second; and Mazarin seems both to have appreciated his talents and his moderation. His accession to the cabinet was an accession to the influence of the cardinal; and the only persons in the council whom Mazarin had to fear, were Bouthillier, and his talented son, the Count de Chavigni. Thus stood the parties in the cabinet, as opposed to each other and aspiring to the supreme direction of affairs after the death of the king: Chavigni and his father, both ministers deeply versed in political affairs, especially those of France, against Mazarin and Le Tellier, both consummate politicians, and both subtle as well as determined.

Without the walls of the cabinet, however, were the parties who were to bestow the power, and for some time it was doubtful into whose hands the gift of that power would fall. The expectants were the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé; but the prince soon found that his chance

was too slight to justify him in sacrificing more probable advantages by opposing those more likely to succeed. The competitors were thus reduced to the Duke of Orleans and the Queen, both equally mistrusted by the king. For a length of time it was doubtful to which, under these circumstances, he would assign the regency; and it became clear that the success of the aspirants to that high office would greatly depend upon their management of those members of the council who, in turn, were aspirants for the subordinate power.

In this double intrigue, however, necessity more than choice determined which parties would cohere together. Chavigni and his father had too deeply offended Anne of Austria, to entertain any hope of obtaining from her favour the power which they coveted; Mazarin, on the contrary, stood, if not well, at least fairly with the princess. He had taken no active part in any of the proceedings against her; he had injured neither herself, nor any of her favourites. Thus, while Chavigni leaned towards the Duke of Orleans, Mazarin anxiously turned towards the queen. The difficulty was how to obtain her favour, and how to open such a communication with her as would enable him at once to serve her and to serve himself. Anne of Austria had shown herself hitherto quite indifferent towards him, and relying on her growing power over the king's mind, and her great hold upon the country as the mother of two princes, she seemed

to believe that she could stand without support, and bestowed the greater part of her favour upon Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, who, with a narrow mind, obtuse senses, an upright heart, and considerable ambition, aspired to rule the land as prime minister; though an infant might as well attempt to rock the cradle in which it is intended to sleep.

Mazarin felt that it would be by no means good policy to serve the queen's views with the king without making her feel the obligation of his services; and in the embarrassment under which her indifference placed him, he determined to have recourse to the man he intended to supplant, for an opportunity of cultivating her favour. He accordingly applied to the papal nuncio to break the matter to the good Bishop of Beauvais, and to inform him that Cardinal Mazarin, being devotedly attached to the person of the queen, applied to him, as one of her best friends and greatest favourites, in order to express to her majesty his desire of rendering her every good office in his power. The scheme proved perfectly successful: the nuncio undertook the mission; the good Bishop of Beauvais, without the slightest idea of Mazarin's real objects, was enchanted with the proposal, and hastened to the queen to advise her by all means to make sure of the cardinal, who was so well disposed to serve her.

The queen, with greater reason, was as much delighted with the suggestion of Beauvais as he had

been with the proposal of Mazarin. In consequence, she did not fail to signify her satisfaction to the cardinal, and to give him every hope of obtaining her favour: and he, with a mind at ease, seeing no one between him and the station at which he aimed but an imbecile old man of whom he could so readily make a tool, laboured to obtain the regency for the queen. The whole scheme, indeed, had at one time been nearly overthrown by the Count of Brienne, to whom the Bishop of Beauvais communicated at once all that had taken place. It suited not in any degree the views of that statesman, and he seems to have been strongly tempted to remonstrate with the queen, and to strive to overthrow the fabric already raised. He hastened to Anne of Austria apparently for that purpose, and inquired whether what the Bishop of Beauvais had told him was true, and what motives could have engaged her to adopt the course proposed. Anne of Austria, however, replied decidedly,—first, that she had reason to believe that Cardinal Mazarin was devoted to her service; and secondly, that, wishing to get rid of Bouthillier, Chavigni, and all those who were not in her interests, she was nevertheless desirous of keeping some one in the council who might inform her of the real intentions of the king at his death, *in order*, she said, *to follow them*. “For that purpose,” she added, “I wish to make use of a person neither dependent upon the Duke of Orleans, nor on the Prince de Condé.” After

such an explicit declaration, Brienne was wise enough to be silent, and the arrangements of Mazarin went on.

In the end, however, the good Bishop of Beauvais himself perceived that he had raised up a dangerous rival in the queen's favour, and he joined with the Duke of Beaufort in the endeavour to undo what he had done: but it was then too late to make the attempt, and Mazarin never lost the hold he had obtained upon the queen's regard.\*

In the mean time, the party of the queen greatly increased. The Duke of Beaufort, who had lately returned from a voluntary exile, attached himself to her, with the whole house of Vendôme; and the Prince de Marsillac, afterwards famous as Duke of Rochefoucault, also adopted her cause at once, assuring her, at the same time, of the still more important support of the heroic Duke D'Enguien, better known as the great Condé.

A secret negotiation was carried on between D'Enguien† and the Queen by means of Marsillac and Coligny, in the course of which it was stipulated on the part of the duke, that if he gave all his influence to aid the party of Anne of Austria in her efforts to obtain the regency, she again should

\* La Rochefoucault gives an account of all these affairs somewhat different from that of M. de Brienne; but, for reasons which will be apparent to every one acquainted with the memoirs of the time, I have preferred Brienne where the statements of the two were incompatible.

† Rochefoucault.

bestow upon him all the honours, rewards, and offices from which she could exclude the Duke of Orleans without risking an actual rupture. The means of accomplishing the objects of both were discussed and arranged, and every thing promised the queen that success which she afterwards obtained.

Day by day her friends increased, and her popularity in the capital, where her sufferings were not yet forgotten, spread through all ranks; but still the task of inducing the king to appoint her regent was not without its difficulties; and though Mazarin was rising rapidly in the favour of the dying monarch, yet the counsels and suggestions of Chavigni and Bouthillier constantly gained something for the Duke of Orleans and for themselves, as often as Mazarin obtained a step for himself and for Anne of Austria. Thus, when the king at length—well-knowing that if the Queen might perhaps use the regency unwisely, the Duke of Orleans was certain to use it ill—determined to appoint Anne of Austria regent after his death, other counsellors induced him to limit the powers of the regency, and name the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom: and thus, when Mazarin obtained for himself the power of presenting to all benefices under the regency, the king decreed that Bouthillier and Chavigni should be, of right, members of the council of regency. The same party who had so far thwarted the purpose of the



queen gained that the Duke of Orleans should preside over the council, and in his absence the Prince de Condé: but, in opposition to this, Mazarin induced the king to appoint him to fill the same post when Condé and the duke were absent, and to confide to the queen the nomination of persons to all vacant offices, except that of secretary of state, which required the consent of the council to make the appointment valid.

In order to give as much authority to these dispositions as possible, the king caused them to be registered by the parliament: but the party of the queen was already so strong, that loud censures were heard in every part of Paris in regard to those points which limited her authority; and she who for so many years had been totally without political influence, could now perhaps have opposed successfully the power of the king himself. Even the parliament was so completely devoted to her will, that the Count de Brienne informs us it occupied itself from the first moment after the declaration of the king had been recorded on its registers with the consideration of how it might most formally annul all its dispositions.

Mazarin now stood high in favour both of the king and queen; and two days after the king's declaration had been presented to the parliament, he was selected for the high honour of standing godfather to Louis XIV. The dauphin had indeed been previously baptized, on the very day of his

birth;\* but the full ceremony was now performed, Mazarin and the Princess de Condé standing sponsors.

The high favour which Mazarin had by this time obtained might well have served, in the eyes of the political parties of the court, as an augury of his speedy elevation; and a stroke of policy which bound to his interests the powerful house of Condé and the mighty genius of the young D'Enguien, confirmed his hold of authority in a manner which it would have been difficult to shake. To him, we are told by Brienne, and to his solicitation, was owing the appointment of the Duke D'Enguien to command that army with which he won the famous battle of Rocroi and destroyed for ever that celebrated Spanish infantry which had obtained a military fame scarcely inferior to that of the tenth legion. Although the cardinal might consider his ultimate success secure, and although the court might well perceive that the power of the queen would only be rendered supreme by the

\* Such is the account of Brienne, who was present: but it is singular to remark, that a good deal of confusion has prevailed in regard to the facts attending Louis's baptism, — the daughter of the Duke of Orleans declaring that she acted as godmother, and that her father filled the office of godfather to the young king; whereas we know, from the most authentic records, that on the real ceremony being fully performed by the Bishop of Meaux in the palace chapel of St. Germain, the godfather and the godmother were Mazarin and the Princess de Condé.

death of the king, yet every one waited with agitation and alarm, expecting concussions of much greater severity than were at all likely to take place.

This state of suspense lasted long; and the paroxysms of the king's disease kept the whole court in a continual movement. Now he was apparently in the agonies of death; and Anne of Austria, calling round all her friends, took measures to guard against a *coup de main* of the other party, by putting her children under the charge of the Duke of Beaufort, whose courage and fidelity were not to be doubted. Then again came the tidings that the king was better, and playing on the guitar; and the queen hastened to conceal from the jealous and moody eyes of her husband the steps she had taken to secure the sovereign power in expectation of his death; while at the same time a number of exiles who had come back without permission during the time in which he seemed at extremity scampered away into the provinces again, fearing that the first act of his recovery would be to punish their unbidden return.

Everything was prepared for the event, however, and in the beginning of May the decline of the king became so apparent, that the last measures were taken by Anne of Austria and her partisans for directing the first movement of popular feeling, which was likely to follow the death of Louis, entirely in their own favour. At length, on the fourteenth day of May, Louis XIII. died at St.

Germain-en-Laye, leaving to his infant son the vessel of the state shaken by many a wind and tempest, corrupted in many points through its whole fabric, and surrounded by rocks and shoals which were only the more dangerous because they were covered with waters that rippled lightly in the sunshine.\*

\* Anquetil, in speaking of the death and last dispositions of Louis XIII, says that Chavigni was the person who was employed by the queen to remove from the mind of the dying monarch the impression that she had meditated his death at the time of the conspiracy of Chalais. He afterwards says, that even when she had become regent she nourished a considerable degree of resentment towards Mazarin, for having drawn up, if not suggested to Louis, the declaration of his will which limited her powers as regent. In both these cases he is borne out by the authority of persons at the court; but it will be seen that I have taken a view of the matter totally different from his; my motive for so doing being, that Brienne takes a totally different view; and that he not only frequented the spot, and entered into the confidence of the king and queen as much as any of those who have left memoirs of the time, but also mingled with all the political intrigues of the day. He especially dwells upon these two points, giving the queen's own words in regard to Chavigni and Mazarin. In the first place, he shows that she was resolved to put no trust in Chavigni, looking upon him as an enemy: it was not likely, therefore, that she should employ him in an office of such delicacy as is here represented. Chavigni, who was of a much more bold and frank nature than Mazarin, might perhaps of his own accord speak to Louis in favour of the queen, and try to disabuse him in regard to her conduct; but it would seem clear that she never employed him. In regard to the next point, it is shown by the queen's own language to Brienne, that long before the death of her husband she looked upon Mazarin with favourable eyes, and believed him to be devoted to her service.

It is probable that Louis XIII. was not regretted by a single individual in France. His court was composed of persons who were eager to seize upon the power that was slipping from his hands; his army, of persons who might admire his constitutional courage, but abhorred that phlegmatic apathy which rendered his courage of but little avail; his nobles comprised in their corps scarcely any one whom he had not either injured, or suffered to be injured; his servants loved him not, for he was neither liberal nor courteous, frank nor mild; his ministers despised him for his weak dependance upon others; and his people disliked him, as much from his abhorrence of multitudes as for any evil qualities. His virtues and his talents were but little estimated, because they were not such as dazzle or surprise: and yet in a reign during which more injustice was committed in the king's name than in perhaps any other period of the same extent to be found in history, he acquired the name of "the Just." He certainly could not be looked upon as clement; and if we are to believe Rohan and many of his contemporaries, Louis XIII. showed on various occasions a cold and yet sanguinary nature, in comparison with which the ambitious executions of Richelieu were mild and humane.

The French, however, (though no one wept over the loss of their king,) did themselves justice, as usual, in an epigram upon the faults of their late

master, and summed up his character in the following epitaph :

Ci gît le bon roi nôtre maître,  
 Louis treizième de ce nom.  
 Il fut vingt ans valet d'un prêtre,  
 Et pourtant acquit grand renom :—  
 Oûi, chez autrui,—mais chez lui, non..

Which may be rendered —

Here lies Louis the Thirteenth, lately deceased,  
 Our king and our master, and slave of a priest ;  
 Who yet gain'd some glory, while on the French throne,  
 In other king's countries,—but none in his own.\*

Ere we proceed to notice the events which followed the death of Louis XIII, it may be necessary to pause, for a moment or two, on the moral and social condition of France ; which it may be as well to display rather by traits of the times than by long dissertations. That the people were ignorant, and that the human mind in all classes was at a

\* The famous President Hénault judges of Louis XIII. more favourably. He says, after speaking of the narrowness of his sphere of feeling, " The views of this prince were straight forward,—his mind wise and enlightened. He imagined nothing, but he judged well ; his minister only governed by convincing him : and he is by no means a prince of mediocrity who only suffers himself to be led by great means. He was as valiant as Henry IV. but of a valour without fire or brilliancy, which would have served but little in conquering a kingdom. Providence had caused him to be born at the moment fitted for him. Earlier, he would have been too weak ; later, too circumspect. Father and son of two of our greatest kings, he strengthened the still shaken throne of Henry IV. and prepared the marvels of the reign of Louis XIV."

very low ebb in the scale of cultivation, we have already shown by pointing out the *egregious superstition of the higher orders*. The belief in judicial astrology which we have noticed, was of course accompanied by an immense number of other prejudices of the same family; and witchcraft, sorcery, and magic, were matters believed in alike by clergy and laity.

A thousand instances might be given of persons persecuted even unto the most cruel forms of death upon the accusation of sorcery; but the example of the famous Maréchale d'Ancre, who was publicly condemned and burnt alive in the Place de Grève on the charge of witchcraft, would be sufficient, were not political rancour sufficient to account for any mixture of absurdity with crime. Another instance, however, at a later period, when no such political motives sought to veil themselves under the robe of superstition, is found in the case of the famous Urbain Grandier, curate of Loudun, who, being accused of magic, was tried by a special commission appointed for that purpose, condemned, and burnt in the year 1634, only four years before the birth of Louis XIV. Some persons have indeed discovered, or pretended to discover, that the unfortunate curate of Loudun had excited the enmity of the unforgiving Richelieu; but even were it so, of which there is no proof, the perpetration of such a crime upon such a pretence would be quite sufficient to establish the lamentable

state of superstition in which the whole country was plunged.

The manners of the time, of course, kept pace with the intellectual darkness of the people, and examples of coarseness and even grossness in the lovely and the fair and the celebrated of the court of Anne of Austria might be given, which would astonish the reader, were it not impossible to dwell upon such topics in the present day.\* It is true that the character of the king himself, ferocious and harsh gave a tone to the society around him ; and occasional traits of brutality, especially towards his wife, are to be found in every page of his history.

monarch who would seize upon a whole packet of letters which his queen had been writing, and because she had wept to hear that her brother had been defeated by the armies of her husband, would cast them all down in a pile and set fire to them, exclaiming, " There is a bonfire on the defeat of the Spaniards, in spite of the queen !" could not wonder that at an after period his own chancellor should, with insolent boldness, attempt to take a paper, which Anne of Austria had concealed, *even from her very bosom*. None of the reverences of society could be long observed under the influence of such examples.—The nobles, quarreling daily for trifles, violated even the precincts of the palace by their contentions ; and the Dukes

\* See the Memoirs of La Porte, pages 95 and 96.



of Chevreuse and Montmorency fought in the very court of the royal residence at Monceaux, in the presence of the king's guard itself. Duels, which, next to private assassinations, are certainly the strongest proofs of a barbarous state of society, were of daily occurrence, till Richelieu interposed to put a stop to them. Nor was this all: a ferocious spirit was abroad, which took a delight in sporting with human life. No police can be said to have existed in the realm: the repose of Paris was watched over, or rather neglected, by a guard insufficient to secure the tranquillity of an ordinary village, consisting of forty-five men, badly paid, and only serving on those occasions when it was absolutely necessary to show themselves. The highways were infested with robbers; hourly rencounters were taking place in the streets of the capital; and even in the inns of large towns the traveller was anything but secure, from the cupidity of some and the brutal levity of others.

An anecdote is told of the famous Maréchal de Fabert which gives a strange picture of the exploits wherewith the young nobility of France occasionally amused themselves. Fabert, in returning to the court after having executed some mission of importance, was stopped at Clermont en Beauvoisis by the want of post-horses, and went to bed to take some repose while the means of proceeding on his journey were sought for. He kept a light burning in his chamber; and, about two o'clock in

the morning, two young officers in the French service, the Count de Rantzau and Monsieur de Quesnai, entered the room in which he was sleeping, for the express purpose of annoying a stranger. Woke by an extraordinary noise, Fabert looked up and beheld two gentlemen dancing as hard as they could in the middle of the room. "Gentlemen," exclaimed the marshal, "you know, I trust, how to behave yourselves!—this room is mine; there are others in the hotel, and I beg you would make use of them."

"Sir," replied the count, "sleep if you can; for my part, I only wish to amuse myself:" and seeing that Fabert, enraged, was starting out of bed, he burst out into a violent fit of laughter, exclaiming, "The matter is serious: Monsieur takes to his slippers!"

Fabert, now losing all patience, snatched up his sword and fell upon them; but Rantzau and Quesnai drawing also, got him between them; so that as soon as he lunged at one, he was exposed to the other: thus he was wounded in fourteen places before any one came to his assistance. At length, however, the noise brought the whole household into the room, and Quesnai, who was nearest the door, was instantly disarmed: at the same moment Fabert sprang upon Rantzau, threw him on the ground, and holding his sword to his throat, exclaimed, "What is your name, villain! Demand your life, or you die." As he answered nothing,

however, the master of the house cried out, "Hold, hold, Monsieur Fabert ! I know him well ; his name is Rantzau." At the celebrated name of Fabert, the young officer burst forth, exclaiming, "What have I done ?—would to God that I were dead !"

"Make your escape, young fool," cried Fabert, "and try to conceal yourself from the disgraceful punishment which justice inflicts upon assassins." The two officers, however, were afterwards taken and tried, though their lives were ultimately spared at the intercession of Fabert.

Joined with this wild and sanguinary rashness, there often appeared, as a matter of course, many nobler and more generous traits of character. Courage and resolution, in all their forms, were to be found carried to the highest point ; and no one displayed those qualities more strongly than Fabert himself, who joined to the sternest determination a degree of blunt simplicity which savoured of a former and more chivalrous age. Being severely wounded in Piedmont, the surgeons, after having examined his thigh, declared to the Cardinal de Lavalette that it would be necessary to amputate the limb ; and that prelate undertook to communicate the tidings to Fabert himself. The brave soldier, however, demanded to speak with the surgeons in the first instance ; and after having explained to him the nature of the wound, they informed him that they had come to the determination of amputating the leg. "Gentlemen," replied

Fabert, "you have not consulted the principal person interested, since it is *my* life that is at stake. No, no, I do not intend to die by pieces; death shall have the whole of me, or shall have none: who gets the *gigot*, gets the rest of my body. I will be my own surgeon." And so good a surgeon did he prove, that ere many weeks ~~had~~ elapsed, he and his valet had completely cured the wound which the others had pronounced incurable.

A thousand instances of chivalrous generosity might be cited; and the noble and deep feelings in which they originated offer a strange contrast, if we will bear them in mind, with the mercenary greediness, levity, and selfishness which were already beginning in some degree to mingle with them, but which did not shine out in all their glaring nakedness till the troublous commencement of the succeeding reign.

Chevreuse, the mortal enemy of Montmorency, rendered so by an unfeeling jest upon a personal defect, forgot his enmity the moment that his chivalrous adversary fell into misfortune, used his most strenuous efforts to save his life, and wept bitterly when his death was announced to him.

In the attack upon Collioure, the Maréchal de Meilleraie raised all the wrath of Fabert by a sneer at the battalion of guards which he commanded, and which for two years had been on duty at the court. So high was the indignation of the latter, that he ~~was~~ quitting the head of his troops

to take satisfaction on the spot, when he was stopped by Turenne, who in vain endeavoured to reconcile them. Shortly after, the Spanish army being before them, Meilleraie, as a noble kind of concession, sent for Fabert to give him his advice. The angry general, however, refused to quit the head of his troops, replying, that the battalion was ready to obey any orders, but its officers would not leave it. Thereupon Meilleraie rode up to Fabert, exclaiming, "No rancour, Fabert, in the face of the enemy! Give me your advice:—what ought I to do?"

"Attack them!" was the laconic reply of Fabert. "March!" replied Meilleraie; and the battalion of guards immediately charged up the hill, and, without the slightest disorder in their ranks, drove the Spaniards from position to position till they took refuge in the town itself. As he returned, Fabert was met by Meilleraie, who sprang from his horse to embrace him, and besought him to come with him immediately, to lay out the plans for attacking Collioure.

Nor was deep and devoted attachment, as we have already shown, wanting in France at this period; and the examples of the Chevalier de Jars, Madame de Hautefort, and La Porte are only some out of many which might be cited, to afford a strange contrast with the baseness, the caprice, and inconstancy of the Fronde. The times, indeed, were such as were best suited to

try the characters of men, and to bring out the deeper qualities of the human heart. But there was already prevailing throughout society that general relaxation of morals, and that libertine indifference to many of what ought to be the most sacred ties, which precedes, accompanies, and follows the general contempt of all <sup>virtues</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>rs.</sup> Female virtue was held at nought throughout the land: the fashion of the day was against it, in a country where all things are fashion, and many a person whom we have every reason to believe was substantially virtuous assumed the appearance of vice for the purpose of being like the rest. There is great cause to suppose, indeed, that this was the case with Anne of Austria herself. Somewhat vain of her personal appearance, by no means insensible to flattery, and of a character and temperament not devoid of passion, the queen of Louis XIII. on more than one occasion affected a kind of sentimental attachment for various persons which certainly brought her character in danger; and yet La Rochefoucault, who assuredly was not overcredulous in regard to female virtue, and who dwells at large upon her connexion with Buckingham,—the most dangerous of these engagements,—gives us distinctly to understand that the queen did not sacrifice her own or her husband's honour. Her example, however, in following so evil a mode, her strong attachment to Madame de Chevreuse and other women notorious for their intrigues, and

the want of all check or restraint, moral, religious, or legal, of course induced a degree of depravity on which it would be unpleasant to dwell. Suffice it to say, that even the libertinism of the court of Louis XIV, great as it undoubtedly was, assumes a very mitigated appearance when compared with that of his father.

If the moral condition of the country was loose and bad, its political state was equally so. The feudal system in its decline had naturally verged into a struggle between the great vassals and the throne, in which the throne had become predominant; so that till the reign of Henry IV. everything had been tending gradually towards an un-mixed despotism. In the wars of the League, feudality (complicated with superstition) made its last great stand, and though defeated in its efforts, still gained so much, that on the accession of Louis XIII. the scattered fragments of the resisting mass remained as obstacles to the march of government in every direction. It appears to have been through his life one of the great aims of Richelieu to remove these; but the labour and difficulty of so doing rendered the whole reign of Louis XIII. a period of transition in all things, the scene encumbered, wherever the eye turned, with the ruins of past things, out of which had not yet risen up the brilliant but perhaps feeble state which was to last, in its rise, its splendour, and its decline, till the death of Louis XVI.

Voltaire says truly, that nothing was fixed—nothing was settled. The rights of no individual and of no body of men were ascertained. Corporations, ecclesiastical corps, bishops, princes, and jurisdictions were daily coming to blows in the streets of the capital for their real or imaginary privileges; and the same dispute pervaded towns and villages, carrying dissension into the most remote corners of the kingdom. From a general sense of the necessity of bringing some remedy to this lamentable state, sprang a system of defining all privileges, which we shall see naturally deviating, amongst a vain and distinction-loving people, into a devotion to etiquette, and a ceremonious adhesion to station both ridiculous and inconvenient.

At the same time, the power of the king was not in any degree more clearly defined than the privileges or rights of his subjects amongst themselves; the parliaments, the states-general, and the remaining power of the nobles were all obstacles still left in the way of despotism. With the first indeed it only required skill, resolution, and military force to deal securely; and the second might be dispensed with altogether, now that taxes could be imposed without their concurrence. The great nobles, however, offered still formidable obstructions, though not, as formerly, a counterbalancing power; and privileges which the crown had been forced to leave in their hands, impeded both the formation of any



general political system, and even the execution of recognised law. A number of towns and cities of great importance, regularly fortified and garrisoned, were in the hands of different nobles, some holding them upon the frontiers as separate sovereignties, some in the interior of the realm as high fiefs. Besides these, the government of provinces and of towns, conferred by the king, conveyed privileges of a very uncertain extent, which however were often stretched to absolute resistance to the royal authority, and to cover and support rebellion. The monarch, it is true, had the undoubted right to dismiss the refractory governor; but that could never be done but at the risk of producing insurrection.

Trevoux, the capital of the small principality of Dombes, was held by Gaston Duke of Orleans, as guardian of his daughter; and even under the severe rule of Richelieu the king was obliged to obtain possession of it by a stratagem. Fabert was despatched to lay wait in the neighbourhood with an armed force, while a peasant was sent to the gates during the night, pretending that he came in haste to seek a midwife for a woman taken in labour. The guards were thus deceived, the gates opened, and the king's troops soon made themselves masters of the town. The Duke of Epemon, while governor of Guyenne, dared to show the most cutting contempt towards the cardinal prime minister himself; and Richelieu, lying

ill in Bordeaux, was rendered worse by the apprehension of being arrested by one of the king's subjects. Sedan was the head-quarter of all conspiracies; and a multitude of other towns throughout France were ready at any moment to set at nought the royal authority.

**N**or was this all: the power of the law itself was impeded in its operations by a thousand obstacles. A thousand local jurisdictions—a thousand petty courts over which there was no control, and the limits of whose privileges were very uncertain, infested by a tribe of mercenary officers and lawyers, judges without honesty or without wisdom, advocates impudent and greedy, were not only spread over the whole country, but rioted in Paris itself, divided it into separate districts, interfered with each other and with the more regular courts of justice, and took advantage of the undefined boundaries of their jurisdiction to plunder any unfortunate suitor who might be entrapped into their snares, whether his case was really within their cognizance or not. Thus, in many instances, causes were sent backwards and forwards between two local courts, like a shuttlecock between two battledores, till the fortune of the unfortunate suitor was beaten to pieces between them. Interminable confusion, lamentable expense, and that gross injustice, the delay of justice, were thus entailed upon the people by these remnants of feudal jurisdictions, which up to the death of Louis XIII. had been

only made more complicated, aggravated in their evil consequences, and rendered more uncertain and more dangerous, by the desultory and ill-directed efforts which had been employed to establish the authority of the king's courts, and by the tyrannical, illegal, and unjust special commissions by which Richelieu had endeavoured to terrify the refractory nobles into obedience.

In Paris itself, besides the Archbishop, the Abbess of Montmartre, the Abbot of St. Germain, and the grand prior, a number of different noblemen claimed certain judicial rights which were totally inconsistent with the equal distribution of justice. The powers as well as the privileges of the parliament itself were equally ill defined, and indeed remained so during many years; for at a much later period we find that body proposing to try, condemn, and execute, *with closed doors*, the famous John Law: showing, by the very discussion of such a proposition, how little understood were the real principles of justice in France, even at a period when the laws had undergone the greatest amelioration.

Political economy was totally unknown; and though in the latter days of Richelieu he had made some efforts to put the finances of the kingdom upon a better footing, yet the revenue of the country did not amount to more than 45,000,000 of livres at twenty-six livres to the mark; and the

collection thereof was carried on upon the most improvident system—if that can be called a system in which injustice, speculation, rapacity, and malversation were all mixed up together in darkness and confusion. Nor was this all : the very geographical condition of the country seemed to partake of the same indefinite and irregular character displayed by all the circumstances of its internal situation. The territory of Roussillon, separated from Spain by the great mass of the Pyrenees, and only joined to it by narrow passes, branched out into France, affording the Spaniards an easy access into that country, of which it had been made a portion by the hand of Nature. The town of Avignon and the large province of Franche-Comté, which every geographical circumstance designated also as parts of France, lay in its bosom more like snakes than children, and were the refuge of rebels, insurgents, and the discontented, approaching so near to Paris itself, that a few posts brought the traitor and the criminal into a foreign territory beyond the pursuit of justice. Between France and her natural boundary of the Rhine also, lay Lorraine and Alsace ; and although the grasping hand of Richelieu had snatched at Roussillon and taken hold of Lorraine, the King of Spain still maintained his claim upon the first of those states, and the expelled duke lingered in the neighbourhood of his former territories, flitting about, deprived of every-

thing but his army, like a soul separated from its body.

Such was the state of France at the end of the reign of Louis XIII: everything was shaken, nothing fixed; laws and jurisdictions were unsettled and undefined; feudal rights and privileges, no longer existing as a system, disturbed that order which they had formerly maintained; cities and fortresses in the hands of individuals; governors of towns and provinces possessing more power within certain districts than the king himself; detached portions of other countries interrupting the natural limits of France and breaking its geographical identity; no generally-recognised authority in the land, each individual and each corps struggling to extend its influence to the detriment of others; arts and sciences just beginning to break forth, but with their infancy nearly strangled by the serpents of faction and tyranny; war on every point of the frontier; ill-regulated and scanty finances; gross superstition amongst the catholic part of the population, vehement fanaticism on the part of the protestants, and a general grossness of manners and depravity of morals pervading all the higher classes of society, and even spreading into the lower ranks of life. Without comparing this picture with that which is to follow, it is impossible to appreciate or understand the character and epoch of Louis XIV. But one strong moving principle carried on the machine of state,—

the impetus given to everything by the mighty mind of Richelieu.\*

\* For the contents of this chapter I have consulted Madame de Motteville, Bassompierre, La Porte, Brienne, Rochefoucault, the histories of Fabert, &c. besides several general histories. I have placed the greatest reliance upon Brienne, La Porte, and Madame de Motteville, where I have found contradictory statements in regard to the private history of Anne of Austria and the early life of Louis XIV; because those persons had the best means of knowing the truth, and also relate the facts of which they were witnesses with an air of sincerity and candour which is not easily assumed.

## CHAPTER II.

Accession of Louis XIV.—He is carried to Paris.—Popularity of Anne of Austria.—The late King's will annulled.—State of Parties.—The Importants.—Potier.—Beaufort.—Madame de Chevreuse.—Châteauneuf.—The school of Richelieu.—Chavigni.—Bouthillier.—Mazarin.—His rise.—His favour with the Queen.—His talents.—Opposition and intrigues.—D'Enguieu.—Madame de Longueville.—Coligni.—The scandalous Letters.—Duel between Guise and Coligni.—Triumph of Mazarin.—Madame de Chevreuse and Madame de Montbazon banished.—Beaufort arrested.—Potier dismissed.

THE birth of Louis XIV. had been announced by a trumpet to the Spanish general in Italy, together with an offer of immediate battle. His accession to the throne was ushered in by the nullification of his father's will and the great victory of Rocroi.

No sooner were the eyes of Louis XIII. closed in death, than a rumour ran through the old castle of St. Germain that it was the intention of the Duke of Orleans to seize upon the persons of the young king and his brother, and take possession of the regency by force. Although it is not at all improbable that some of the turbulent and factious favourites of that prince, whose life was a series of frustrated *coups de main*, might have proposed to

him the enterprise which he was now supposed to be on the point of attempting, yet it is very improbable that he entertained it seriously for more than ten minutes, as that was the utmost term of existence at which any of his resolutions, generally speaking, arrived. The report, however, was sufficient to justify the queen in active measures to protect her own rights, and she was already well prepared to resist any attempt to deprive her of the authority assigned to her by the will of the late king.

For several weeks the Duke of Beaufort, and the other partisans of the queen, had been negotiating with the Swiss and French guards, and had completely gained them to the interests of that princess. Intelligence of what was taking place at St. Germain was constantly conveyed to their quarters, and they held themselves prepared to march to the palace at any moment, and maintain the authority of Anne of Austria by force of arms. As soon as Louis XIII. was no more, the young king was placed once more under the care of the Duke of Beaufort; all the queen's officers were ordered to obey him at once; and, the panic soon subsiding, triumph and joy succeeded, somewhat indecent in its display, while the body of the dead monarch remained unburied within those very walls.

By the advice of the Duke of Beaufort, it was now determined to convey the young king imme-



diately to Paris. The faithful guards were summoned from their quarters; the royal family was placed in a carriage in the midst; and followed by a multitude of the friends and attendants of the queen, who bore but too little the appearance of grief for the death of her husband, they set out, and arrived in the capital with no opposition from any party. The triumph of Anne of Austria was complete. The populace went forth to St. Germain,\* to meet her, with the most enthusiastic gratulations; and on her arrival in Paris, though there might be some who were disappointed at the turn which affairs had taken, all was tranquil, perhaps we might say all was joyful; for to a people so fond of change as the French, the loss even of a good king is seldom without affording some concomitant motive for satisfaction, while the death of a bad or indifferent monarch may well be passed over without even the decent hypocrisy of mourning.

Thus surrounded by guards, whose very presence showed some signs of apprehension, Louis XIV. and his mother arrived at their palace in the capital; and scarcely had the queen entered the gates, when a proposal was made to her by her chancellor, the President de Bailleul, which by a few words affected the next twenty years of the king's

\* Laporte, p. 30. Madame de Motteville says, that from Nanterre to the gates of Paris the whole country was filled with carriages.

life; perhaps, I might say, the whole after history of France. He pointed out to the queen that it would be better to give her opponents no time to strengthen themselves; to strike a blow at once which would place in her hands the supreme authority, and prevent all cabals against her power for the future. He proposed that, without any delay, she should carry the young king to the parliament, as had been done in 1610; and he expressed his opinion, that, without any regard for the will of the late king, the unlimited regency would be at once conferred upon her.

The suggestion was immediately communicated to the council, and might have met with severe opposition, had the party of the Duke of Orleans been as energetic and prompt as that of the queen. But, on the contrary, it was divided in itself, and felt no security in the firmness of its chief. So convinced indeed had Chavigni become that the party of Anne of Austria would ultimately predominate, that towards the latter days of the king's life he had affected greatly to devote himself to her cause; declaring, with the sort of hypocrisy common to both sides, that the interest of the Queen and Duke of Orleans were one. The truth is, Chavigny had gained all that he could gain from the king in favour of the duke, and he was perfectly convinced that that prince would gain nothing farther for himself. Under these circumstances he had been inclined to rest content with

what had been acquired, and to make a merit with the queen for very negative sorts of service.

The triumphant attitude, however, at once assumed by the regent, the evident devotion of the guards and the people, the popular impulse in her favour, and the boldness with which she and her party took the first decided steps in their new career, so overawed the Duke of Orleans, that either led by, or leading, the Prince of Condé, he made a voluntary offer of resigning into the queen's hands all the power with which he had been entrusted by the king. Condé made a similar, though not so important offer, of yielding the small authority which had been confided to him; and all the members of the council, with the exception of Mazarin, readily agreed that the king should go to the parliament, and hold what was called a "*lit de justice*."

Mazarin, however, perceiving that it was the intention of the queen to assume at once the whole power, and that nobody proposed to mention even his name in the proceedings, or to take the slightest notice of his claims, was in every degree repugnant to the measure, though he did not venture to make any opposition to it in a council where all the members were in its favour. He addressed himself directly to the queen, beseeching her to give him permission to retire to Italy, but coupling his petition with such strong expressions of devotion and attachment as might well show the regent that he

had not the slightest wish to quit France, provided he could obtain that degree of consideration which he felt his abilities entitled him to expect.

The queen was thunderstruck at his proposal; and, being not yet sufficiently aware of the indirect means generally employed by the subtle politician with whom she had to deal, she believed that Mazarin was really anxious to retire to Rome. In this difficulty she applied to the Count de Brienne, who replied shortly, that if she offered to restore to his eminence that which he lost by the annulling of the king's will, he would have every reason to be satisfied. "If he refuses," said Brienne, "it will be a proof that he is resolved not to lie under any personal obligation to your majesty, and in that case you will lose nothing by his retirement; but you will permit me to say, that I believe him much too shrewd a man not to accept your offers with very humble thanks."

The experiment was tried. Mazarin soon after presented himself before the queen to reiterate his application for permission to retire. The queen made him the proposal suggested by Brienne, and heard no more of the journey beyond the Alps.\*

\* I have taken the greater part of my account of these transactions from Brienne himself, who may, I believe, be perfectly depended upon in such particulars. As far as regards the repugnance of Mazarin to the nullification of the king's will, it was evidently founded upon the considerations of self-interest; and Brienne clearly indicates that it was displayed before the parliament had been applied to on the subject.

Whether

In the mean time the bed of justice was held on the 18th of May 1643, just four days after the death of Louis XIII, without the slightest opposition being made to Anne of Austria's design. The chancellor proposed to confer upon the queen the absolute regency of the kingdom; the parliament, which in all ages considered itself, to use the words of Voltaire, as the guardian of the kings of France during their minority, agreed at once, and registered the act.

The Duke of Orleans, however, by the same decree was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and the guard and care of the person of the young monarch was confided to the queen, who named Mazarin superintendent of his education. As an act, this transaction resembled very much that of Marie de Medicis, in assuming the regency on the death of Henry IV; but there were many points of difference in the causes and circumstances of the two events. In the case of Mary, though no absolute force was used, there can be no doubt that the parliament was overawed by the queen, and astounded by the assassination of Henry. In the case of Anne of Austria, such was not the case; the

Whether his proposal to retire to Rome, however, was made as a threat to deter the queen from taking such a step without securing his interests, or whether it was thrown out afterwards in order to ascertain the precise situation in which he stood, and what he might expect for the future, is left in doubt by the secretary of state, and I have consequently endeavoured to state it in the same dubious manner.

parliament had long contemplated the approaching death of Louis, and had prepared, as we have before said, from the very moment that the declaration of his will was registered, to annul it as soon as he was dead. In the one instance it is more than probable that, had the parliament had time to think and means of resistance, it would have refused the application of the queen. In the other case there can be no doubt, to use what is only apparently a paradox, that the queen's proposal was agreed to before it was made.

The infant monarch was of course present upon the occasion, and the transactions were conducted in his name. He is said also to have demeaned himself with extraordinary grace; but where was there ever an infant monarch who did not demean himself with extraordinary grace when the record was kept by those who wrote after the graces of infancy had merged into the beneficent powers of manhood?

A crowd now surrounded the regent, composed of as different and as discordant materials as it was possible to collect. It was divided indeed into two general classes; but each of those classes was again subdivided in itself, and full of matter for farther divisions still. The only principle of cohesion amongst them was self-interest; and that principle the least change of circumstances would of course direct to the opposite result. The two great classes, however, may be called Richelieu-ists and anti-

Richelieu-ists, or those who had been brought up in state affairs by that great minister, and looked forward to the various offices of the government as their share in his succession; and, on the other hand, those whom he had persecuted or kept at a distance, and who now returning from exile, or issuing forth from prison, saw in the equally persecuted Anne of Austria the head of their sect. The Duke of Orleans indeed must be considered as a thing apart, for he seldom remained long attached to any party, because he never remained attached to any principle. In the present instance he had thrown himself into the arms of Chavigni, whom he had made his chancellor,\* and consequently may be regarded as belonging to the faction of the school of Richelieu.

It was very natural that the queen should look to her fellow-sufferers with affection; and we find that, during the last days of Louis XIII, all the returned exiles and liberated prisoners had been gathering round her, and now they appeared in a mass, giving themselves out to be the queen's party, and taking upon themselves such airs of authority as soon to gain from their witty countrymen of the capital the name of The Importants. It is probable, however, that their adversaries did not much fear that their reign would be long; nor can we wonder at the rapid fall of this party, if we consider for a moment its materials.

\* Brienne.

At the head thereof, assuming the likeness of prime minister, appeared Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, qualified by the sarcastic De Retz as "more of an idiot than any idiot of your acquaintance," and of whose pious zeal it is related that his first act was to signify to the Hollanders, that, if they would retain the friendship of France, they must abandon the damnable heresy into which they had fallen.\* Next to him in authority, and still higher in favour, appeared the son of Vendome, Francis, Duke of Beaufort, brave as a lion, not without some talent, but perfectly incapable of any great scheme, or any well-concerted enterprise. Towards the queen he affected an air of devoted gallantry, which she permitted in consideration of

\* Voltaire strongly denies that this was really the case, and the fact certainly rests alone on the authority of the Frondeurs. It is scarcely possible, however, to suppose that such an anecdote would be manufactured and generally promulgated without some foundation; and, perhaps, it had its origin in the following facts narrated by Brienne. D'Avaux and Servien were sent, while Potier still acted as minister, to treat for peace with the empire, and on their journey stopped to conclude some negotiations at the Hague. On taking leave of the states, D'Avaux thought fit to address to their high mightinesses a long remonstrance in regard to their catholic subjects, and an exhortation to treat them more mildly. Servien, who hated his colleague heartily, instantly disavowed all share in this proceeding; but the states were offended, the interests of France injured, and the Dutch laid a formal complaint, asserting that the French ambassador had attempted to make the catholics of the country throw off their dependence upon the constitutional government.



his zeal and fidelity; although his manners and conversation have been represented as those of the *halles* of Paris, a term equivalent to our British Billingsgate. The rest of the faction of Importants was composed of such men as Vitry, who, twenty-six years before, had been entrusted with the delicate task of arresting the Maréchal d'Ancre, and which doubtless he executed to the satisfaction of those who confided it to him;\* of Bassompierre, who, now in his decrepitude, crept forth from the Bastile stuffed full of loves and gallantries; of the Duc de Cramail, who, possessed of considerable powers of mind, had been too long a prisoner to enter into the events and feel the spirit of the period; and others of the same character, who, either in exile or imprisonment, had lost a knowledge of the times and the habit of affairs.

Such was the party of the Importants at the commencement of the regency; but, as time went on, a number of other persons attached themselves to it, which rendered it far more formidable than it had been at first. Amongst the earliest to swell its ranks were two personages who had played a very conspicuous part during the reign of Louis XIII. The first of these was the famous, beautiful, and witty Duchess of Chevreuse,\* the intimate and attached friend of Anne of Austria, who had been

\* He killed him upon some slight resistance, which saved the young king and Luynes much embarrassment.

apparently sacrificed to her friendship for that queen, and whom *Louis XIII.* had judged so dangerous that he had expressly enjoined the regent never to recall her to the court. By the same prohibition was affected the former keeper of the seals, Charles de l'Aubespine, Marquis de Châteauneuf, who had displayed considerable talents under the administration of Richelieu, but had ultimately made himself obnoxious to that great minister, after having given many a sanguinary proof of his devotion to him. Amongst other charges urged strongly against him, was his having presided over the court which condemned to death the gallant and chivalrous Montmorency, though he had every motive and every excuse for declining the painful task. In the exercise of this function he condemned to death the man in whose father's house he had been brought up as a page.

The wishes of *Louis XIII.* however were destined to have but little weight with Anne of Austria. Châteauneuf and Madame de Chevreuse applied for permission to return to the court as soon as the king was dead; and the gates of the prison of Angoulême, where the former was confined, were instantly thrown open to give him exit, while the latter was recalled enthusiastically from her long exile, and hastened to appear at court. Before she reached Paris, however, some persons, whose names are not very clearly known, inspired the queen with doubts in regard to the propriety of

this conduct, and Anne of Austria began to hesitate whether she should or should not despatch messengers to stop her former friend by the way. Long before her return, if we may believe La Rochefoucault, the queen's affection had mightily cooled towards Madame de Chevreuse, and she regretted, almost as soon as she had granted it, the permission given to re-enter France. That writer indeed insinuates, that to the counsels of the Bishop of Beauvais was owing the fall of Madame de Chevreuse in Anne of Austria's opinion; and it is clear that all parties looked forward to her return with equal apprehension, perfectly uncertain to which side her intriguing spirit might lead her, but sure that she would not rest satisfied with embracing one faction without endeavouring absolutely to destroy the other. She was permitted however to continue her journey to the capital, more probably because the queen felt that she could not with any appearance of gratitude or honour refuse, than from any real inclination to recall her to the court. She was met at Brie by La Rochefoucault, who, knowing that the whole face of the French cabinet and policy was entirely altered since the duchess had been sent into exile, took great pains to draw out, for her, a map of the strange country she was about to visit; and, if the remembrances of his old age are correct as to what passed in his youth, laid out for her that plan of conduct which after events proved would have been

the most advantageous for her to pursue. Thus prepared, she proceeded to Paris, and was received by the queen with kindness.

Not so however Châteauneuf, who was commanded to abstain from appearing at court; but he was ordered to take up his residence in his house at Montrouge, sufficiently near to Paris to cause great disquietude to all those who feared his return. The cause of the partiality shown upon this occasion is probably to be found in the great intimacy which had arisen between Anne of Austria and the Princess de Condé, a woman of high mind and clear intellect, with some faults and failings doubtless, but with a sufficient degree of real superiority to make her person esteemed, and such a tone of decision as to cause her advice to be listened to with respect on all occasions by the queen. She was the sister of the dead Montmorency, and her enmity towards Châteauneuf may well be understood.

Some time after Madame de Chevreuse had reappeared at court, and Châteauneuf had taken up his abode at Montrouge, a number of other persons were added to the cabal of the Importants, who had acquired by no means a good reputation under the rule of Richelieu, and whose acts had distinguished them, not alone as men dangerous to that minister, but as men dangerous to any state in which they might be suffered to remain. These were Fontrailles, Montresor, St. Ibal, and others

of the same class ; all of whom, De Retz declares, died mad, and who previously had borne a prominent part in every desperate conspiracy which had convulsed the reign of Louis XIII. They were the men who were to have murdered Richelieu at Amiens ; they were the men who had carried on all the lower parts in the insurrection of the Count de Soissons ; they were the men who had excited, supported, directed, and abandoned Cinq Mars ; and now, rejoicing at the prospect of new commotions, they brought their lean faces and unscrupulous hearts to spread a leaven of conspiracy through the very innocent cabal of the Importants.

We must now turn to examine the opposite faction, at the head of which we may place the Prince de Condé, a man who had shown himself neither very capable nor very daring under Richelieu ; but who, after consenting that his son should marry the niece of that minister, had been loaded with favours, honours, and rewards ; had seen his enemies of the house of Épernon punished for the faults which he himself committed, and was bound to the policy of the deceased minister both by interest and gratitude. He had agreed at once, it is true, to annul the declaration of Louis XIII.'s will, and had willingly consented that the queen should enjoy the unrestricted regency ; but, as soon as he found what he had lost by this facility, he looked with anger and disappointment upon the cabal of the Im-

portants, by whom he had suffered himself to be led, and attached himself more strongly than ever to the friends of Richelieu.

The Duke of Orleans throughout must be considered as a cypher, which only gave value to the figures which it followed. The principal persons of importance, after the Prince de Condé, were Chavigni, Bouthillier, and Mazarin; but each member of this faction was animated by different views and different interests; and, although through them all there ran a feeble thread of union, their selfishness prevented them from acting with any force against their general opponents. Had each shaped his course with a reference to that of the others, they might have acted as chain-shot fired into a fleet, sweeping away all before them; but in their actual state they were like the same shot attached together by packthread, the connexion being burst asunder even by their own progressive advance.

Such was in some degree the condition of the two great divisions into which the French court had fallen; but while the first wranglings were going on, which seemed destined to precede a general struggle, an individual of the faction of Richelieu was separating himself from the mass, and, with keen eyes towards his own individual interests, was preparing step by step to attain that commanding position from which he would be enabled to hurl down beneath his feet each of the contending par-

ties and their leaders. This man was Julius Mazarin, the place of whose birth, and the station of whose family, are equally doubtful. It is certain that he had been a soldier, a negotiator, and a priest; that he had been educated in Spain; that he had attached himself to France; and that, in negotiating for other powers with the country which he was afterwards destined to rule, he had shown for it a partiality and a tenderness which were attributed to corruption, and at all events were recompensed with honours and offices. In him Richelieu, during the latter part of his life, placed the most unbounded confidence; and in a letter from the Count d'Estrades to the Prince of Orange, dated Lyons, September 4, 1642, we find these extraordinary words, which may serve to show not only the authority which Mazarin had already obtained, but the trains of policy which he was then laying for the foundation of his future power. "I ought to tell your highness also," says D'Estrades, "that no one can express greater respect for you, nor a greater desire to possess your friendship, than the Cardinal Mazarin, who is a person of great talents, and who conducts all affairs under the cardinal duke."

After the death of Richelieu, Mazarin, with that politic affectation of moderation which served greatly to disarm opposition, and to facilitate each of his steps towards power, expressed the strongest inclination to retire from the court of France, and take

up his abode at Rome; creating an opportunity of coupling this desire with a display of his deep zeal and attachment to the service of the King of France, by assuring the monarch that all his efforts at Rome should be employed to watch over and promote his interests, and to show his gratitude for the great and extraordinary favours which had been showered upon him. The king, he says himself, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated February 18, 1643, would not permit him to put this purpose in execution; but commanded him to remain in order to assist the counsels of France, *and to take the conduct of all the most important affairs.*

After the king's death, as we have already seen, Mazarin renewed this pretence of a desire to retire to Rome; but the queen's commands proved as potent as the king's, and the humble-minded prelate remained, fingering gently the globe and sceptre, till he got them into a deputed grasp which retained them with a firmer or a laxer pressure till the day of his death. Very soon after the queen had taken possession of the regency, it became a general conviction of the most clear-sighted that the power of Mazarin was rising. Nor did Anne of Austria herself refrain from expressing openly the confidence which she placed in him; and, even before the death of her husband, she had told the Count of Brienne that she was perfectly convinced of the attachment of Mazarin to her interests.

Immediately after she had become regent, Bri-



enne declares, speaking of himself, "I made, on my part, a thousand protestations of service to the cardinal, being persuaded that thereby I should give pleasure to the queen." The same was the case with La Rochefoucault, who says, that very soon after the death of the king, it was not difficult to discover that the credit of Mazarin with the queen had augmented, while that of the Duke of Beaufort had diminished. Day by day he went on gaining more and more upon the regard of Anne of Austria, as much by his real talents, to which she could not be blind, and which gave her the expectation of direction and support in the difficulties of her new situation, as by his insinuating manners and courtiér-like adaptation of his advice to her circumstances. Nor was this all: the wisest and the most clear-sighted of the courtiers, of whatever party they might be, perceived that the capacity and powers of the cardinal were such as to render him the only person about the queen fitted for the general direction of the affairs of the kingdom.

Brienne suffers this to be apparent through his whole narrative of these events; and La Rochefoucault, in his interview with Madame de Chevreuse before she arrived in Paris, gave her the following view of the queen's esteem for Mazarin, and of that minister's capabilities in regard to the high task which he was likely to be called upon to perform. "I represented to her," he says, "that the queen was certainly resolved to retain about her the Car-

dinal Mazarin ; that it would be difficult to judge by any other means than by the event, whether this resolution would prove good or evil, because, being a creature of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and united with his relations, it was to be feared that he would hold by his maxims ; but nevertheless, having had no part in his violent acts, and being almost the only one who had any knowledge of foreign affairs, I doubted whether (in the absolute necessity in which the queen and the state were placed, of having a man capable of managing those affairs) it would be easy to obtain from her the exclusion of Mazarin ; besides which, I did not see any person whose capacity and fidelity were sufficiently known to induce us to wish to establish him in a post so difficult and so important as that."

This wise view of the case was taken by many others, and very likely served to confirm the queen's opinion in regard to the statesman in question : but there was another cause which induced Anne of Austria to adhere most pertinaciously to the preference which she had already formed for Mazarin ; that cause was, the violent opposition which she met with from a great number of her old friends and attached dependants, and from the manner in which that opposition was urged. La Porte, in describing her character during the time that she was suffering under the oppression of Richelieu, declares that she was kind, gentle, and full of every good intention ; but that, if those who were about

her pressed her strongly and perseveringly, they could easily persuade her to take a very opposite *course to that which she had at first proposed to follow.*

Such, doubtless, was the appearance that the queen's character assumed so long as the exercise of her will was in reality restrained by a power that she could not resist; and many others judged as unwisely as La Porte, and believed that to proceed from the original formation of her mind, which was only a modification produced by circumstances. Amongst these was Madame de Hautefort, who had also been recalled to the court on the death of the king; and she, La Porte, and others, soon found that the same woman, who, in adversity and under irresistible restraint, had been easily persuaded, now that she held in her hands the supreme authority, and believed that her will must be obeyed, resolved that it should be so, and stiffened herself against any remonstrance which took in the slightest degree the tone of reprehension.

As soon as ever La Porte and Madame de Hautefort arrived at the court, they perceived the growing authority of Mazarin, and made up their minds to attack his authority on a side where they thought the queen most sensible. The cardinal was yet in the prime of his life, handsome, courteous, insinuating; and there did not want rumours in the gay and scandal-loving city of Paris, which attributed the predilection of the queen for the minister fully

as much to the heart as to the head. The long conversations which he held with her majesty in *private, and which are reported by La Porte* to have been really remarkable, of course did not pass unnoticed; and the friends who had formerly been her great counsellors and confidants did not fail to bring to her ears all the rumours that were current in Paris regarding her.

The queen had very imprudently commanded La Porte always to tell her the truth,—a command which ought never to be given but by the wisest and most candid of monarchs to the wisest and most disinterested of subjects, otherwise its execution becomes dangerous to both. Whether La Porte told her the truth in all other respects, we cannot, of course, discover; but he certainly told her the truth regarding the reports about her and Mazarin. In the first instance, the queen heard them with apparent indifference, declared that the cardinal was by no means the gallant man that was supposed, and, *if we may believe the narrator*, threw out an innuendo too gross and filthy to be repeated, but which tended to shield her reputation, while it cast upon Mazarin an imputation of the blackest character.

We would rather believe that La Porte falsified the truth, than that any queen or any woman could so degrade herself. On the next occasion when her attached attendant returned to the subject, she heard him with less temper, became very red, and

flew into a passion, declaring that it was the Prince de Condé who spread these reports; at the same time beating the glass of the window violently with her fan. The attack was nevertheless kept up upon her by a number of her former friends; and Mazarin could have desired nothing better in order to destroy their influence and to raise up his own.

The arrival of Madame de Chevreuse, and her conduct towards the queen, brought these matters to their height, and furnished the cardinal with an opportunity of overthrowing the whole faction, and mounting to power upon its ruins. The duchess had promised La Rochefoucault to act with scrupulous care and moderation, and, without attempting to govern the queen, to endeavour at first, by all the arts which she knew so well how to use, to regain that high place in the affection of her mistress from which her absence had caused her in some degree to descend. He had assured her of the co-operation of Madame de Seneçay, Madame de Hautefort, and all the old friends of the queen; and he showed her that, by bending and submission at first, she might soon place herself in such a situation as to have the fate of Mazarin in her power. On her arrival she was received with great kindness by Anne of Austria, and any little difference that she perceived in the conduct of the queen, she attributed to causes which her presence would remove in a moment; and at the same time the counsels and opinion of the Duke de Beaufort, all

unfitted as he was to counsel any one, convinced her that her power was as high as ever.

Beaufort himself, the Bishop of Beauvais, and all the rest of the cabal, were by this time extremely jealous of the influence which Mazarin had acquired. They had considered the queen-regent entirely as their property, and regarded any one not of their faction, who attempted to excite an interest in her bosom, as little better than a highway robber. For this reason they determined upon his destruction, and assured Madame de Chevreuse that she could accomplish it when she liked. Till her arrival, Mazarin was somewhat doubtful of the degree of influence which she might be enabled to exert; and although he had taken every measure to undermine the queen's affection for her, as well as to strengthen himself, he did not think it unnecessary to wait upon her the day after her arrival, and endeavour to effect an union with her: he offered her both his services and his purse; softening the latter proposal by speaking of her exile, her sudden return, the slow payment of orders upon the royal treasury, and every topic which could render the acceptance of pecuniary assistance less mortifying to her pride. She refused his offer of money, however, at once; and for his offers of service treated him with a degree of raillery which showed how confident she was of the complete restoration of her authority.

The complaisance which Mazarin displayed to-

wards Madame de Chevreuse only the more strongly confirmed her in the opinion of his weakness and her power; and she determined at once, by recalling Châteauneuf to office, to destroy the rising minister, and to strip the family of the Cardinal de Richelieu of all that they had acquired under the government of that great statesman, in order to gratify her revenge against a race she detested, and at the same time to recompense her friends and adherents with the vacant offices. But, brilliant and talented as she was, she was engaged at a game of chess with the first player in Europe. Mazarin contrived to beat her by her own moves; and while he threw himself between her and the family of Richelieu, which gave him all the advantages of apparent disinterestedness and secured him powerful support, he took no notice of the direct attack upon himself by the efforts for the recall of Châteauneuf, but contented himself with moving up the Chancellor Seguier, at whose office Châteauneuf aimed, in order to protect his game, and to prevent himself from receiving a check from the former keeper of the seals.

In the mean time Madame de Chevreuse pursued her plans against him with vigour, but without skill. She, like the rest, had mistaken the character of the queen, from the appearances which that character had assumed in adversity; though, indeed, she might have judged, from the pertinacity which Anne of Austria had always shown in her

affection for those whom the king and Richelieu had striven to make her relinquish, that her favour could never be shaken by direct attacks, and could only be undermined by covert insinuations. She and her party demanded loudly of the queen that the young Duke de Richelieu should be stripped of the government of Havre, in order to invest therein with the Prince de Marsillac (Rochefoucault); that the high-admiralty of France should be taken from the Duc de Brezé, as a prey for the Duke of Beaufort; and that the Maréchal de Meilleraie should resign the government of Brittany, as a plaything for the old Duke of Vendôme.

These demands were not urged by the duchess herself alone, but by the whole faction of the Importants, Potier, Beaufort, Vendôme, Mercœur, Rochefoucault, and a long train of inferior nobles; while Mazarin himself was placed in a difficult position by the offers of service he had made to the duchess on her first arrival. At the same time, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, not very well contented with the small share of power they retained, looked on with no great interest in the game of Mazarin; and Chavigni, who had seen his father (Bouthillier) dismissed by the regent, and had himself been forced to cede his place of secretary of state to the Count de Brienne, though he retained his seat in the council, gave but very lukewarm assistance to the minister who was so rapidly rising above his former colleague.



Madame de Chevreuse, however, went on, as we have said, playing the game of Mazarin for him ; while Seguier contrived by the interest of his sister, one of the nuns of Pontoise, who had much influence over the queen, to bar the door against Château-neuf. Mazarin, without absolutely counselling the queen to reject the demands of the Importants, proposed delays and expedients which irritated the Duchess of Chevreuse to the highest pitch. On all occasions the queen bade her apply to Mazarin, and the duchess did not fail to refuse to receive favours from any hand but that of her mistress ; mingling her complaints with invectives and sarcasms against the minister, which did not fail to confirm the queen in an opinion which the cardinal had instilled into her, that it was the intention of Madame de Chevreuse to rule her with a rod of iron.

Anne of Austria seems to have borne this conduct with much patience ; arguing with her, remonstrating, and warning her distinctly that, if she plunged herself into farther political intrigues, she would bring about her own ruin.

To the faction of the Importants, however, the queen was willing to grant something, rather than come to an open rupture with her old friends in the very commencement of her regency : thus the government of Brittany was taken from the *Maréchal de Meilleraie*, but it was not given to *Vendôme* ; and, in regard to the other demands of the faction,

they were eluded, partly by promises, partly by delays.

The most powerful engine, however, which Mazarin employed to shield the house of Richelieu from the storm by which it was menaced, without exposing himself to its full fury, was, the influence of the Princess de Condé, whose enmity towards the Duke de Beaufort, who had treated her daughter (afterwards Duchess de Longueville) with contemptuous levity in regard to an alliance proposed between the two families, was but a shade less than that which she entertained towards Châteauneuf; and Richelieu himself had taken care, by marrying his niece to the Duke d'Enguien, to secure the support of the princess for his relations.

Thus all parties were playing a game, the result of which was still doubtful, though great chances of success lay on the side of Mazarin; when a new actor, appearing on the scene, rendered the whole intrigue more complicated, and restored, for a short period, to the faction of the Importants far more than they had lost by their own blindness and stupidity. At the very same time, however, one of those acts of private levity and misconduct which have, in France more frequently than in any other country in the world, given a sudden change to the whole affairs of state, and affected the welfare and destiny of the country, was lying in preparation, destined in the end completely to change the face of state policy, and to cut at a single blow the

Gordian knot into which the various parties had entangled the state intrigues of the times.

*That new actor was the victor of the battle of Rocroi, the justly celebrated Duke d'Enguien, who returned to the court about the middle of 1643, accompanied by a number of young noblemen, glowing with their triumphs over the Spanish arms. His great influence, his sudden and mighty renown, the affection with which he was regarded by the army, and his extraordinary genius, rendered the young duke's support an immediate object with each of the cabals of Paris. Mazarin showed him the most humble devotion; the Duke of Orleans, though somewhat jealous, was anxious to attach him to his interests; and the Importants were not less desirous of gaining the co-operation of a prince whose weight would make whatever scale he threw himself into preponderate almost to a certainty.*

It is true, he had married Clara Maillé de Brezé, niece of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and near relation of all those against whom the operations of the faction were directed; but it followed not at all in those days that the views and interests of the husband and wife should go together, and the Duke d'Enguien was in no degree notorious for his affection towards the duchess. As the interest of his mother, however, and every political consideration, would have carried him strongly to the opposite party; and as d'Enguien himself hesitated for some time, toying with the courtship of all factions; the

Duchess of Chevreuse, and other lady-leaders of the Importants, arranged their plans for entangling the young duke, and binding him to their party, by meshes of a softer kind.

Still beautiful, though past her youth, the Duchess of Chevreuse appeared as stepdaughter of another fair dame, not less beautiful and somewhat younger than herself; this was the Duchess de Montbazon: and those two ladies, neither of them particularly famous for scrupulous virtue, gathered round them, for the purposes as much of faction as of amusement, all the bright and beautiful that they could collect in Paris. To this circle, as it may well be supposed, the Duke d'Enguien was easily attracted; especially as his own sister, Marie de Bourbon, the beautiful and talented Duchess de Longueville, was one of its principal ornaments. We must notice here the strong affection with which D'Enguien regarded his sister, as it was the matter of base and scandalous comment in Paris, where such fraternal regard was not very usual, and as it greatly affected the events about to be related. D'Enguien was soon gained over, attached himself to the Duchess of Montbazon, was treated with every degree of kindness by that lady, and was publicly exhibited by the faction of the Importants as a new accession to their party.

Mazarin saw the greatest obstacle thrown in his way which he had yet had to encounter, when suddenly a piece of malicious scandal dissolved the

vision of success which had risen before the eyes of the Importants, as if by the stroke of an enchanter's wand. In the very prime of her youth and beauty, brilliant, admired, and courted, the Duchess of Longueville of course excited no little jealousy in persons whose more mature charms were under the influence of life's autumn, and who saw the bright things of existence passing away into the hands of another generation. This feeling seems to have been the most poignant in the bosom of Madame de Montbazon; and perhaps D'Enguien's affection for, and confidence in, his sister, irritated in some degree the elder lady to whom he had attached himself.

The intimate friend of D'Enguien, the Count de Coligni, was suspected of being attached still more strongly to the sister than to the brother; and one day after the Duchess de Longueville had quitted the school for scandal established by the Duchesses of Chevreuse and Montbazon, some letters were found, as if let fall by her accidentally, which did not tend to put her fidelity to her husband in a very clear light. These letters were brought back to the circle, and read with many a jest and many a comment. The scandal spread all over Paris, and Madame de Montbazon lost no opportunity of promulgating that the letters which had been found had undoubtedly dropped from the person of Madame de Longueville, and were part of her correspondence with Coligni.

The whole town was on fire with the tidings; it spread from house to house, and from lip to lip, till at length it reached the Princess de Condé, coupled with information of the part which Madame de Montbazon had played in the whole business. Indignant at the imputation cast upon her daughter, the princess immediately flew to the queen, demanding justice; but, before Anne of Austria could take counsel with her friends and advisers in regard to what she ought to do under such circumstances, the Duke d'Enguien had at once chosen his part, broken off all communication with the enemies of his sister, and hurled a vehement defiance at the whole cabal, which was instantly taken up by the Duke of Beaufort. The quarrel spread through all their followers and attendants; the officers who had served under D'Enguien flocked to offer him the support of their swords; the houses of Vendôme, Montbazon, Chevreuse, Guise, and Lorraine ranged themselves on the other part; and in a few hours Paris would have been deluged with blood, if the queen had not exerted herself vigorously to put a stop to the quarrel and decide the dispute by her own authority: while the Prince de Condé, roused from his apathy by the danger of his son, used every energy to prevent the hero of Rocroi from shedding his blood in a pitiful quarrel commenced by a circle of bad women and carried on by a faction of intriguing men.

The Queen announced to Madame de Montbazon

that she must make reparation to the Princess de Condé, and the express terms were regulated by no less a person than Mazarin, who gained a great accession of influence by the support that he gave to the house of Condé, and by the abasement of one of the heroines of the opposite faction. An apology was drawn up, which Madame de Montbazon was compelled to read before a large assembly of the court at the house of the Princess de Condé; but, in so doing, she used a tone of insolent jest and raillery, which only aggravated her offence in the eyes of the Princess de Condé, and left them as bitter enemies as ever.

The more serious disputes between the male parts of the two factions reduced themselves to a duel between the Duke of Guise and Coligni. It is more than probable that the letters were forged; but, whether the Duke of Guise had any share in their fabrication or not, he so warmly espoused the cause of her who had circulated the scandal, that the brunt of the affair naturally fell upon him.

The matter needed not, however, to have proceeded to bloodshed, had the counsels of the wise and moderate friends of all parties been attended to; nor would it have done so, had not the mortified vanity of a woman taken part in the business. The Count d'Estrades, famous both as a soldier and a negotiator, was applied to by his relation Coligni to carry for him a message to the Duke of Guise, demanding his presence, with a single friend, in the Place

Royal. D'Estrades replied that he would do so willingly, but that the duke had already publicly denied having any share in the scandal which had spread from the house of Madame de Montbazon; and that, if he repeated the denial, he could not properly be called upon to give any farther satisfaction. To this Coligni replied, "That has nothing to do with the matter now. I have pledged myself to Madame de Longueville to fight him in the Place Royal, and I must not fail." The Duke of Guise instantly accepted the challenge, and repaired early on the morning appointed to the Place Royal, which, though planted with trees, was at that time in the centre of the most fashionable part of Paris.

Coligni met him with the Count d'Estrades, who, as was customary in those days, encountered hand to hand Bridieu, the second of the Duke of Guise. Coligni was disarmed and wounded, and Bridieu was at the same time overcome by the Count d'Estrades, who instantly hurried up to his friend, whom he found severely hurt. Though wounded himself, he offered to Coligni to recommence the combat on his part with the Duke of Guise; but Coligni would not suffer him to do so, and was carried home, where, after lingering for some months, he died, greatly regretted by the whole house of Condé. There appears to have been very little doubt that the duel was entirely promoted by the beautiful Duchess de Longueville: but a still more



sanguinary trait is generally added to the history, in which perhaps scandal may have had its share. The duchess, we are told, after having exacted from her lover that he should fight the Duke of Guise, and having ascertained the time appointed, repaired to the house of the old Duchess de Rohan, and there, from behind a blind, became an unseen spectator of the combat which terminated so disastrously for her champion.\*

This being the first duel under the regency, the queen and her council threatened highly to put in force the laws by which Richelieu had succeeded in completely stopping that evil and absurd practice. The prosecutions which were commenced against the parties produced a letter from the Prince of Orange,† too remarkably characteristic of the man

\* Madame de Motteville, who gives a full account of the duel, does not absolutely say that she knew Madame de Longueville to have witnessed it; using the words, "as was believed." The following verses, however, which that pious lady gives as written on the duel, show, by the sentimental levity with which they treat the connexion between Coligni and Madame de Longueville, the looseness of French morals at that time.

"Essuyez vos beaux yeux,  
Madame de Longueville,  
Essuyez vos beaux yeux,  
Coligni se porte mieux.

S'il a demandé la vie,  
Ne l'en blâmez nullement;  
Car c'est pour être votre amant  
Qu'il veut vivre éternellement."

† Frederic Henry.

and of the times to be omitted in this place : it is addressed to the Count d'Estrades, and is dated 16th of April 1644.

“ SIR,

“ I understand that you are pursued by the parliament for having served Monsieur de Coligni, your relation and mine, in an affair of honour. I beg that you would quit a country where they do not understand good people, such as you are ; and come to join me here, where I am ready to divide with you everything that I have, in order to testify my esteem and friendship for you. I send you a bill of exchange for a hundred thousand livres upon the Sieur Hœust, who will give them to you directly. If you have need of more, you have nothing to do but to take it ; and to come and join me immediately, without stopping any longer in France, where they do not understand your value.”

The most important act of the intrigue, however, was yet to come : the irritation which existed between the Princess de Condé and the Duchess de Montbazon rendered it likely that some new explosion of passion would take place in the various meetings to which they were of course subject in the ordinary intercourse of the court. The same was the case with the Duke of Beaufort and the Duke d'Enguien, and this state of things produced two of the most favourable circumstances that

it was possible to imagine for the policy of Mazarin.

In order to prevent any unpleasant consequences between the two ladies, the queen commanded Madame de Montbazon to retire immediately from every place where she should meet the Princess de Condé; an order which was received with anger and indignation, and which was only obeyed for a time, with a full determination of evading it as soon as possible. On the other hand, the Prince de Condé, apprehending every moment that the violence of his son would produce bloodshed between him and the Duke of Beaufort, saw no path open before him but a strict union with Mazarin, for the purpose of destroying the faction of the Importants. To ensure the most perfect ascendancy, and to put all chance of opposition out of the question, it was necessary to gain also the Duke of Orleans to act vigorously in the same direction; and Condé, who had shared that prince's mortifications in regard to the regency, now laboured strenuously to bring him over to the party which he had at length espoused.

His applications to the Duke of Orleans for this purpose came at a moment when that irresolute prince was torn by contending feelings, and labouring under one of those ague-fits of irresolution to which he was so much subject. When urged by his old friend and confidant, Montessor, he was ready to throw himself into the arms of the Importants; and when listening to the insinuations of

the Abbé de la Rivière, who abhorred Montressor with all the warm detestation of jealousy, he was quite as ready to hold out his hand to the Cardinal Mazarin.\* Shaken between these fits of heat and cold, it is probable that he would have remained perfectly neuter, had not the solicitations of the Prince de Condé come to determine him. He perceived in a moment that there could be no danger in taking the part which Condé proposed, a perception which was always agreeable to that feeble prince.

The uncle of the king, and lieutenant-general of the kingdom, joining with the first prince of the blood and with the favourite minister of the queen-regent, supported by the greatest general of the age and by an army devoted to him, could, of course, risk nothing in encountering a cabal formed by private individuals; and, under these comfortable circumstances, the Duke of Orleans determined to array himself against the Importants. He did so the more willingly, we cannot doubt, because he had been disappointed in the hopes held out to him by the Bishop of Beauvais, who, on the occasion of the queen assuming the unlimited regency, had assured the Duke of Orleans that the whole of the real power would be entrusted to him: an assurance foolishly uttered, and foolishly believed.

In the mean time, the conduct of the Importants themselves gave the fairest pretext in the world

\* De Retz.

for destroying them, without any charge of inconsistency. The Duchess de Montbazon and Madame de Chevreuse took counsel together to evade the queen's commands; and in order to get rid of the unpleasant submission which the former was obliged to show towards the Princess de Condé, it was determined that the Duchess de Chevreuse should give a great *fête champêtre*; and the queen and court were accordingly invited. Madame de Montbazon hastened to the house of her stepdaughter, in order to assist her in receiving her guests; and the Princess de Condé, hearing that she was to be there, proposed to the queen, with dignified propriety, to remain in Paris, and not to trouble the pleasure of the day by her presence. Anne of Austria, however, refused to suffer such a concession, and sent a message to Madame de Montbazon, directing her to find some excuse for retiring before she appeared. The duchess refused to be absent from the fête of her stepdaughter, and it consequently passed without the presence of the queen. The next day Madame de Montbazon received a formal notification that she was banished from the court, and it was intimated to the Duchess de Chevreuse that she had better keep herself retired in the country. Scarcely, however, had Anne of Austria performed this act of vigour, ere feelings of gratitude towards her old adherent caused her to repent and recall the Duchess de Chevreuse. In so doing, however, she warned her in emphatic terms of the danger

which she ran in meddling any more with the intrigues of the court. She offered her her friendship upon condition that she abstained from all cabals ; but assured her that, if she entered into them, she would certainly be banished.

In the mean time, the Duke of Beaufort and his friends were proceeding in the very manner to hasten their disgrace. Rude, violent, self-conceited, and overbearing, Beaufort lost no opportunity of abusing the cardinal and insulting the queen. He more than once turned his back upon her ; he affected not to hear her when she spoke to him ; he refused all favours from her hands ; and he went about abusing every one whom he imagined to belong to the opposite party. Mazarin was not only insulted, but threatened ; and he skilfully availed himself of those threats to pretend that his life was in danger. The Importants still continued their cabals, giving the appearance of great affairs to pitiful trifles ; holding councils about nothing ; giving meetings without an object ; and enveloping even their hunting parties with an air of mystery which perfectly served the purposes of Mazarin and the court. Reports were spread that armed men had been seen dogging the cardinal ; rumours of a conspiracy became general. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé agreed that some vigorous step must be taken, and it was determined that the party of the Importants should be destroyed.

On the 2nd of September 1643, the Duke of

Beaufort, with Madame de Chevreuse and her daughter, proceeded to the Louvre, and remained some time in conversation with the queen. There were also present, Cardinal Mazarin, Madame de Hautefort, Guitaut, captain of the guard, and some of the officers of the household ; and, after remaining some time with every appearance of composure, Anne of Austria and Mazarin quitted the saloon and retired into a neighbouring chamber. As soon as they were gone, Guitaut walked up and whispered something in the ear of the Duke of Beaufort, who immediately exclaimed aloud that he was arrested. He submitted, however, without making the slightest resistance, slept that night at the Louvre, and the next morning was conveyed to the prison of Vincennes, while a general decree of exile was announced to all the principal members of his faction.

Châteauneuf, Montressor, St. Ibal, were banished ; Madame de Chevreuse was ordered to betake herself to Dampière, and thence again was driven to Tours ; Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, the phantom minister of the last four months, was quietly transmitted to his diocese, to exercise the good qualities of his heart unembarrassed by the operations of his head. Mazarin, now, with the stage cleared before him — with Bouthillier excluded from the councils of the queen, Chavigni deprived of the office of secretary of state, the

favour of the regent completely obtained, and the houses of Orleans and Condé committed to his support—appeared upon the scene as prime minister with all the éclat of a vigorous and energetic stroke, aimed successfully at persons who thought themselves all powerful, and with all the advantages which a modest and unassuming demeanour affords when combined with a manifestation of power and determination. Step by step he had gained all that he had sought for; and now, gratified to the full, he resolved to conciliate and win all classes, and to make the nation forget that he was one of a profession whom the French had learned to distrust in power; that he was a foreigner, of course obnoxious to national as well as private jealousy; and that he was a creature of the Cardinal de Richelieu, whose sanguinary and tyrannical fame was yet fresh and odious in the minds of men. He had every reason to be contented; and having passed through scenes of intrigue, for which he was so well fitted, with continual success, could of course put on a smiling mien to all men. Not so Anne of Austria, who had been pained and distressed by the struggles which had ushered in the days of her dominion, and so strongly affected by contending feelings in regard to the banishment of her former friends, that she was thrown into a fit of illness by mere distress of mind. From it, however, she speedily recovered;



the factions which had convulsed the last few months were swept away; and from the famous 2nd of September commenced that period which in French history is known by the name of "The fair days of the regency."

## CHAPTER III.

**Military History.**—Battle of Rocroi 1643.—Capture of Thionville.—Turenne recalled from Italy.—Surprise and Capture of Rantzau.—Turenne upon the Rhine, 1644.—Mercy takes Freiburg.—Condé on the Rhine.—Three Battles of Freiburg.—Successes of Condé and Turenne.—Capture of Gravelines.—Campaign in Catalonia.—La Mothe defeated.—Lerida taken by the Spaniards.—Turenne takes Stuttgart, Halle, and Mariendal, 1645.—Is defeated at Mariendal.—Condé sent to take the command.—Victory of Nordlingen.—Successes of the Archduke.—Capture of Treves.—Capture of Rosas.—Battle of Ilorens.—Successes in Italy.—Condé and the Duke of Orleans in Flanders, 1646.—Courtray, Bergues, Mardyke, and Dunkirk taken.—Duels in the Army.—Extraordinary March of Turenne.—The heart of Germany invaded.—Turenne out-manceuvres the Archduke.—The heart of Bavaria laid open.—Siege of Orbitello.—Portolongone, and Piombino taken.—The Count de Harcourt defeated before Lerida.—Condé sent to Catalonia, 1647.—Besieges Lerida.—Is forced to raise the Siege.—Illness of the young King.—Revolt of the Weimarian Troops.—Wise conduct of Turenne.—Campaign in Flanders.—Successes of the Archduke and of Gassion.—Death of Gassion.—Capture of Ypres, 1648.—Capture of Courtray by the Archduke.—Signal Victory of Lens.—Capture of Tortosa.—Running Fight of Zusmarhausen.—Successes of the French.—Peace of Munster.

THE reign of Louis XIV. is equally remarkable in its civil and its military portions; and although the dry details of battles and sieges are in general neither very amusing nor very instructive, yet the history of Louis's wars forms a striking point in the history of civilization. Those wars themselves, the method in which they were carried on, the peculiar kind of influence with which they invested the monarch, and the changes which they wrought both immediately and remotely in the position of France and the state of Europe, contributed very nearly, if not quite as much, to the general progress of society, as the expansion given to all the arts and

sciences, and the introduction of new systems of internal and external policy."

At the death of Louis XIII. France was at war on all points of her frontier: she was giving armed assistance to the revolted Catalonians; she was carrying on a successful warfare in Roussillon: on the side of the Low Countries, she was struggling with foreign armies; and on the frontier of Champagne a Spanish force was hovering, commanded by an old and experienced general, and comprising that redoubted body of infantry which had hitherto borne up the military renown of Spain, notwithstanding her many unsuccessful efforts to maintain by force of arms possession of her wide but disjointed territories.

Shortly before the death of Louis XIII, at the suggestion, it would appear, of Mazarin, the young Duke d'Enguien, better known as the Great Condé, not yet twenty-two years of age, was appointed to command the army opposed to Don Francisco de Mello and the veteran and renowned Count of Fuentes. In order to moderate the fire of the young duke, and to supply the experience which he wanted, the old Maréchal de l'Hospital had been joined with him in command; and had he met with a genius less decided, or a less determined man, might have neutralized all the benefit of the vast military talent of Condé.

The small town of Rocroi was at that time considered the key to Champagne; and after a demonstration on the side of Picardy, made for the pur-

pose of deceiving the French, Francisco de Mello turned rapidly towards that place, with an army of twenty-six thousand men. Rocroi was then situated in the midst of extensive woods and difficult passes, its fortifications were strong, and it was capable, had the garrison been sufficient, of standing a prolonged siege; but the Spanish officers had obtained information that it was, in fact, neither well garrisoned nor well supplied, and they were led on to attack it by the great facilities which its possession would have afforded for advancing to the very gates of Paris. An enemy in possession of Rocroi could pursue its march to the French capital without fording a single river; and Don Francisco de Mello, despising the young general opposed to him, imagined that Rocroi would fall before Condé could appear to relieve it.

The news of the death of Louis XIII. arrived in the French camp as the duke was marching in pursuit of the Spanish army; and with that intelligence an express order was transmitted to the young general, on no account to risk a battle at the critical moment which had now arrived. The old Maréchal de l'Hospital used all his eloquence in support of this command; but Condé was determined to secure the important point of Rocroi if there still existed a possibility of saving it; and he hastened on, sending forward Gassion to throw some small reinforcements into the place, and gaining information as he went, which gave him good hopes of ultimate success. The return of Gassion, after hav-

ing effected his object, brought information to Condé that the siege had already commenced, and that the rear of the Spanish army was naturally protected by woods and morasses, the only way through which was by means of narrow defiles which might have been guarded by a very trifling force. These defiles, however, De Mello had neglected to secure; nor had he taken sufficient precautions to strengthen the actual position of the besieging army.

Whatever was the motive which induced the Spanish commander to pursue such a course, the facilities which he afforded were in no degree to be calculated upon, and Condé met with determined opposition from the Maréchal de l'Hospital in his design of forcing the Spaniards to a battle. Condé, however, persisted, and on the army arriving at Bossut, he caused a general reconnoissance of the dangerous ground in the vicinity to be made at daybreak. No sign whatever of any intention to interrupt him in his passage was to be discovered, and the young duke, putting himself at the head of his cavalry, entered the defiles, and by skilful manœuvres covered the advance of the rest of the army, which was slow and difficult. Don Francisco de Mello, however, made not the slightest demonstration of attacking the French, though there can be little doubt that at that moment the fate of the young commander and his whole forces was in the hands of the Spanish general. As soon as the defiles were passed, Condé took up a position for battle, with his right resting

upon the woods, and his left upon a piece of marshy ground, while a narrow valley ran between him and the enemy; but the day was too far advanced for either general to willingly commence the action, and though La Ferté, who commanded on the left under the Maréchal de l'Hospital, had nearly ruined the dispositions of the young duke by attempting to throw succour into Rocroi, his mistake was quickly remedied, and the French army bivouacked in presence of the enemy. Every delay, indeed, was in favour of the Spaniards, to whose aid the Austrian general, Beck, was hastening with considerable reinforcements; and we are assured that the Count of Fuentes strongly advised Don Francisco de Mello to use every means in his power to avoid an engagement till the expected succour had arrived. A great superiority of numbers, however, gave Don Francisco encouragement to encounter the Duke d'Enguien at once; and the reputation of the hitherto unconquered infantry, under the command of Fuentes himself, afforded sufficient assurances of success.

The arrangements of Don Francisco de Mello for the battle are generally allowed to have been skilful. The phalanx of the Spanish infantry occupied the centre of the field; the Duke of Albuquerque, who had already distinguished himself highly in the course of the war with France, commanded the Spanish cavalry on the left, supported by a large body of German, Walloon, and Italian

infantry, and protected by a wood filled with light troops which flanked the valley that lay between the two armies. On the right of the Spanish army was Don Francisco de Mello himself, with a considerable force both of infantry and cavalry.

On the opposite side of the valley Condé and Gassion appeared commanding the right wing of the French, De l'Hospital and La Ferté were on the left, Sirot led the reserve, and D'Espanan was at the head of the infantry. The Duke d'Enguien had concerted his whole plan of operations with Gassion, his *maréchal-de-camp*, consulting the old *Maréchal de l'Hospital* no farther than was absolutely necessary; and when all was arranged, on the night preceding the battle, so soundly did he sleep, that he was obliged to be roused in order to lead his men to victory.

The battle began at an early hour, and for a moment success seemed doubtful. The Spanish infantry maintained their superiority in the centre: the *Maréchal de l'Hospital* was driven back and thrown into confusion on the left, while Condé was leading on his men against the cavalry of Albuquerque; but the impetuosity of his courage gave him the full opportunity of employing his genius to remedy the errors of others, and overcome opposition in every part of the field. Though fighting desperately, the Spanish cavalry were routed in a very short time; and as soon as their defeat was assured, the eagle eye of Condé turned to the left

wing of his army, and marked the confusion and disarray of De l'Hospital, who had been completely beaten by Don Francisco de Mello. The whole of that wing was in disorder ; the infantry, under D'Espenan, was nearly cut to pieces ; the whole artillery was taken ; and the Spanish general, with scarcely less impetuosity than Condé himself, was leading on his troops at once against the reserve under Sirot. Such was the critical moment in which the genius of Condé first displayed its vast and extraordinary scope. Without a moment's hesitation, he gathered together his victorious cavalry, passed behind the whole of the Castilian infantry, and coming in the rear of the right wing of the Spaniards, which was just engaging Sirot in front, he poured an impetuous charge upon them, which at once threw them into confusion. The rout of the Spaniards in that quarter also became irremediable, and for a few moments Don Francisco de Mello himself was in the hands of the French, though he afterwards made his escape, leaving his truncheon of command behind him.

Still, however, the unbroken phalanx of the Spanish infantry continued to advance ; and Condé hastened to oppose all his own fiery genius to the determined courage of a body of men who knew that their corps had never been defeated for two hundred years. Putting himself at the head of his most trustworthy troops, he hurled himself like a thunderbolt against the advancing body of the



Spaniards, which was now enclosed on three sides by a forward movement of the right and left wings of the French army: but twice was Condé himself and the French cavalry driven back from the face of that serried line, like a fierce wave dashed from the advancing prow of some stout ship. Every time the French cavalry charged, the battalions of Spain opened to permit a discharge from within of artillery, loaded with musket-shot, which swept down whole ranks of the enemy. Still, a third time, the duke returned to the charge, causing the reserve to advance at the same moment,—and that third time he rent his way through. The line of the Spanish infantry was then first broken since it had followed the Great Captain to the field; the French cavalry poured in; and all became confusion and flight and carnage.\*

The Count of Fuentes died at the head of his troops,† and the fugitives, rushing from the field, encountered General Beck, advancing with six thousand Imperialists to their support; but instead of gaining courage from the sight, they communicated

\* It would appear that the Spanish infantry, finding themselves surrounded on the advance of the French reserve, made signs of a desire to surrender; but not understanding that their proposal had been acceded to, opened a tremendous fire upon the French cavalry as they once more approached. This was supposed to be an act of treachery by their enemies, and the slaughter which took place in consequence of this misunderstanding was very great.

† Condé is reported to have said, that he would wish to be dead like him if he had not conquered.

their own fears to the Germans, and hurried them away in their flight.

Condé, in the mean while, forgot in an instant the fierceness of battle and the excitement of victory: the conqueror became the protector; and he who had been seen through the thickest of the fight leading on his men with the most impetuous daring, was now beheld in every part of the field putting a stop to the carnage, and with the Spanish officers and soldiers clinging to his horse's knees, as the only place of certain refuge from the fury of the excited victors. The loss of the Spaniards in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of seven thousand men;\* a great number of prisoners were taken; the whole of the baggage of the Spanish army, the standards, the military chest, and eighteen pieces of field artillery, with six larger guns, fell into the hands of the French.

But such acquisitions were nothing to the important objects obtained by this victory. The first and greatest point was, the total defeat of a Spanish army in a regular battle by an inferior number of French troops; for though the French had been greatly successful upon the whole during the course of the war, they had never obtained any very signal victory till the battle of Rocroi. The

\* The French and Spanish accounts differ, in general, but little in regard to the loss of Spain on this occasion; but, strange to say, the Spanish historians make it greater than the French, giving it as eight thousand killed and six thousand prisoners.

moral effect upon the French soldiery was immense; and that advantage was doubled by the moral effect upon their adversaries. To be defeated in petty encounters, to be frustrated in a siege, or to lose a city, might only irritate the Spaniards, and cause them to make more vigorous efforts to regain a superiority; but to be defeated by a young general with an inferior force in a regular battle where all parties behaved well, was of course calculated to depress their spirits and make them look with apprehension to after engagements. From that moment the complete ascendancy of France began, and the glory of that state as a great military power dates from the battle of Rocroi.

The French lost only two thousand men, and were immediately in a condition to follow up their victory, and reap those successes of which it was but the seed. The Duke d'Enguien immediately wrote to Paris, not alone to announce his victory, but to demand permission to follow it up by the siege of Thionville, making preparations in the mean while to carry his purpose into execution as soon as his messengers returned. He encountered some opposition at the court, but by perseverance at length obtained the permission that he desired, and crossing a considerable part of the country filled with Spanish and Austrian troops, he outmanœuvred the enemy's generals and laid siege to the city he proposed to take. A gallant resistance, however, was offered to all his efforts, and it was





not till the beginning of August that Thionville surrendered. The capture of that strong town was followed by that of Sierck, and the whole course of the Moselle was laid open to the military efforts of France.

From time to time during his command Condé returned to Paris, and mingled, as we have shown elsewhere, in the political intrigues of the day. We shall here, however, merely follow the military operations of the different officers; and now for a moment leaving the youthful general, who had already reached the highest point of glory, we shall turn to another, who, by slower but not less certain steps, was advancing to the same proud eminence.

Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne Viscount Turenne had been for some time employed in Italy; but the dissatisfaction which his brother, the Duke de Bouillon, had displayed towards the court of France, and his retreat to Rome, had excited the jealousy of Mazarin, and taught that minister to fear the union of the two brothers for the purpose of opposing his views or undermining his authority. He determined at once to recall Turenne from the country in which, at the head of a veteran army, he was every day increasing his fame; and it would appear that he had many doubts in regard to re-employing that general at all, and only did so on the strenuous recommendation of Fabert, who in writing to Mazarin respecting him made use of these remarkable words:—"He has always preferred the

interests of the state to those of his own house : however dear the latter may be to him, he has never on that account violated the fidelity which he owes to his sovereign, nor the immutable laws of probity. His reputation for good faith is established to such a point, that the enemy even treat with him for suspensions of arms without exacting any guarantee whatever."

Such was Fabert's recommendation of Turenne ; but it became absolutely necessary that some general should be immediately sent across the Rhine, of skill and influence sufficient to put a stop to the misunderstandings and check the disasters which were disgracing the French arms in that quarter. The army of the famous Duke of Weimar had after his death been gained to the service of France and put under a French general, and in 1643, the Maréchal de Guebriant, who at that time commanded the Weimarian\* forces, led them to the siege of Rottweil, which he succeeded in capturing, but was mortally wounded himself during the siege. The Count de Rantzau, who succeeded him, embarrassed by dissensions between the French and Germans of whom the army was composed, suffered himself to be surprised in the neighbourhood of Tutlingen\* by General Mercy, and was himself taken with almost all his officers and a great part of his troops. About seven thousand

\* I find the name of this small town on the Danube spelled Tuttingen, Dutlinghen, and as I have written it in the text.

men in confusion and disarray made their escape across the Rhine, and remained for some time in Alsace destitute of almost every necessary and of every comfort.

To gather together the scattered forces of the defeated army was the object for which Turenne was now despatched to Germany; and a task so little likely to be productive of fame, reward, or success, was accepted by that great general without a murmur. On arriving at the army, Turenne found it in a most lamentable condition, huddled in the midst of a country totally exhausted by the preceding campaigns; and though he joined the French forces in the midst of winter,\* he determined immediately to change the quarters of the Weimarian troops, and consequently led them into Lorraine, where provisions were more abundant. No money could be obtained from the court; but Turenne, rather than suffer the soldiery to want, raised considerable sums on his own credit, remounted five thousand of the men whose horses had been lost or killed, and furnished clothing to six thousand infantry. After having thus supplied the troops with necessaries, his next object was to restore to them that degree of confidence of which their late defeat had deprived them; and hearing that the Baron de Mercy had been detached with a small corps from the army of his more famous brother, Turenne led his little force

\* He arrived in Colmar in December 1643.



in pursuit of him, and defeated him with sufficient advantage to gain the object he proposed. This took place early in the year ; but Mercy gave very little attention to the defeat of a small detachment under his brother, and hastened with a powerful army to lay siege to Freiburg in the Breisgau. Turenne, although he had received some small reinforcements, could only muster ten thousand men ; but he nevertheless hastened to attempt the relief of Freiburg. His march was conducted with such rapidity, that he arrived before Mercy had been enabled to make his full dispositions for the siege ; and Turenne attempted immediately to seize upon a steep hill, called the Black Mountain, which commands the plain. Mercy at once perceived his object, and detached a small body of men round the other side of the mountain, of whom twenty reached the summit, and instantly opened a discharge upon the French troops, who, believing that it was already occupied by the Bavarian infantry, were seized with a panic, fled without resistance, and drove back the second line, which was advancing to their support. Turenne was in consequence obliged to retreat, and taking up his position in the neighbourhood, he remained nearly inactive with his small army, while Mercy, with his larger force, reduced Freiburg to capitulate.

The French general, however, had in the mean time caused many remonstrances to be made to the court, setting forth the impossibility of effect-

ing any great operation with the small force under his command, and beseeching Mazarin to send him immediate reinforcements. Instead, however, of complying with his request, Mazarin determined to employ the Duke d'Enguien, who seemed to have chained fortune to his chariot wheels, to oppose the army which had been successful against Turenne. He did not, indeed, expose Condé to the same hazard of defeat which he had called upon the head of the brother of the Duke of Bouillon; but, on the contrary, the young warrior, who was then at Amblemont in the neighbourhood of Mouzon, led ten thousand men to swell the army, the paucity of whose numbers had chained down the genius of Turenne.

No sooner had Condé joined Turenne than he held a council of war and received a report of the position and attitude of the enemy, who still remained in the neighbourhood of Freiburg. Mercy, besides the garrison which he had thrown into that city, had under his command fifteen thousand veteran troops, and had entrenched them in a manner which seemed to set attack at defiance. He occupied a small plain defended by woods and mountains, with Freiburg behind him and some heights in front. These heights commanded the only direct road from Breisach, and were strongly fortified; but on the left of Mercy's position, winding through deep forests and steep hills, was a ravine sufficiently wide for an army to advance if the defile were

left undefended. The Bavarian general, however, committed no such oversight, and besides filling the woods and crowning the heights which commanded the ravine with musketeers, he strongly fortified the mouth of the defile, and judged that he had rendered his camp on all sides impregnable. So also judged Turenne and all the French generals whom Condé called upon to give him their advice; and the universal opinion seems to have been, that the only way to reduce the enemy was by blockade. Condé, however, determined upon attacking Mercy in his camp, and directed Turenne to advance by the ravine, and, while he himself endeavoured to storm the heights in front, to make a simultaneous attack upon the left of the enemy's position. Turenne having to take a large circuit, it was arranged between the two generals that the battle should not be begun till three o'clock; and it was in fact a little after that hour, when the French infantry, supported by Condé at the head of his cavalry, marched up the acclivity towards the fortified heights in front of Mercy's camp. The slope was broken by a number of low walls built to support the earth of a vineyard, and each of these was gallantly defended by the Bavarian troops. The French, however, pushed on against all opposition till they reached nearly the top, when a tremendous fire opened upon them from the redoubts with which Mercy had fortified the summit. They still held the position they had attained, how-

ever, and Condé, seeing that they neither advanced nor retreated, seized the critical moment, sprang from his horse, put himself at the head of a fresh regiment, and leading it at once to the charge, drove the Bavarian troops from their entrenchments.

He was now master of the heights; but the struggle had been long and severe, and night was coming on: he determined therefore to pause, and rest satisfied for that day with the success he had obtained, taking means to let Turenne know that he had carried his point.

In the mean time, his brother general had fought his way through the ravine, encountering at every step increasing resistance, till he reached the entrenchments on the verge of the plain. It was now however night, and Condé on his part had ceased the combat; so that Mercy, who had lost three thousand men in defending the heights, withdrew whatever troops could be spared from that quarter to oppose Turenne, whom he still held at bay during the whole night, though the combat was continued in that quarter through several hours of darkness. Towards morning the German commander found that his loss had been so great, and the success of the French so decided, that he determined to abandon his camp, and retreat to the Black Mountain behind Freiburg, which offered a new position almost impregnable. This he effected, masking his manœuvres under a continual

fire of musketry ; but nevertheless, had the French been in a condition to pursue him immediately, his army would in all probability have been annihilated at once. The fatigues, however, and the losses of the preceding day (3rd of August) had been so great as to require some repose, and the new attack was delayed till the 5th.

In the mean while, Mercy employed the time in fortifying his position with the utmost skill. The lines of the late siege afforded him great facilities, and his right was protected by the cannon of Freiburg. Nevertheless, it would seem that his position was somewhat too much extended for the reduced number of his forces.

On the 5th the duke made his dispositions for battle, directing Turenne to advance in order to attack the left of the enemy's camp, while D'Espanan was prepared to assail their right ; and a false attack on their centre was to effect a diversion in favour of those two generals. Neither, however, was to commence the action without the express orders of Condé, who advanced at the head of Turenne's division, in order to reconnoitre Mercy's position more closely.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, D'Espanan attacked a redoubt at the foot of the hill during the young general's absence. It was gallantly defended by the Bavarians ; fresh troops poured forward on both sides ; the battle began at a different moment and on a different plan from that which

the duke had laid down, and, after fighting through the whole day and during a part of the night, Condé was obliged to withdraw his troops, repulsed at all points.

The loss of men on both parts had been very great; but Condé was determined not to be defeated. Judging, however, that the position of Mercy was impregnable in front, he determined to make a circuitous march and cut off his retreat into Wurtemberg; thus obliging him to fight under more disadvantageous circumstances, or to surrender from want of provisions. He paused several days, however, in order to allow his troops repose, and then commenced his march; but no sooner were his movements descried from the Bavarian camp, than Mercy at once divined his object and hastened to prevent him from attaining it. Dangerous as it was to quit his fortified position and attempt his retreat in the face of a superior army, no choice was left him, and with prompt determination he took the shorter road which was open to him from his position on the Black Mountain; while Turenne and Condé pursued him through the valley of the Glotter, hoping to cut him off at the abbey of St. Peter.\*

The French troops, however, were forced to make a large circuit; and so rapid was the retreat

\* Let it be remarked, that the names of these places are so disfigured in the French accounts, that very often no similarity is to be perceived between the false and the real names.

of Mercy, that Condé ~~did~~ <sup>found</sup> it would be out of his power to come up with him, unless he could so far harass him in his retreat as to delay his progress in a considerable degree. For that purpose he despatched Count Rosen in advance, at the head of a large body of cavalry, in order to attack the rear of the Bavarian army, and keep it engaged till the rest of the French troops could come up. Rosen accordingly hurried forward, and falling in with the enemy near the abbey of St. Peter, charged the rear-guard, but was repulsed and driven back. Mercy seized the moment to hurry on, and leaving behind his heavy baggage and artillery, made his way through the passes of the Black Forest into Wurtemberg.

Condé and Turenne continued the pursuit till it became hopeless, and then paused to hold council on their further proceedings. If the French generals gained credit for their skill, perseverance, and valour in the long and desperate conflict they had carried on, no less glory was reaped by Mercy in his skilful, courageous and successful defence, and in his wonderful retreat in the face of a superior enemy. The French claimed the victory, and certainly the result of the three days was in their favour; but still in the second attack they were repulsed, and on the third day they failed in their object.

Mercy, however, had retreated, and the whole course of the Rhine was open ~~to~~ the operations

of Turenne and Condé. The object for which the prince had come was the recapture of Freiburg; but, strange to say, that object was abandoned as soon as it was within reach. Various motives, however, were assigned for this conduct, of which the most important was the opportunity afforded by the absence of all Imperial troops for obtaining command of the course of the Rhine. Philipsburg was accordingly besieged instead of Freiburg; and while Condé and Turenne were carrying on the operations against that place, the Marquis d'Aumont captured Spires and several other less important places. In the mean time, during twelve days the small garrison of Philipsburg resisted the efforts of Condé; but at the end of that time the place capitulated. Hearing that Mercy with new-levied reinforcements was marching to repair the evils which had befallen him, Condé entrenched himself strongly under the cannon of Philipsburg, and detached Turenne to attack Wormes, Oppenheim, and Mayence, which surrendered without striking a blow. Landau held out during five days; but Mannheim, Neustadt, and various other towns in the palatinate, yielded with scarcely any resistance.

Having now obtained such decided advantages as to stamp the doubtful combats of Freiburg with the mark of victory, Condé left Turenne to command on the Rhine, and returned to Paris, taking with him a considerable body of troops. No sooner had he left the palatinate than Mercy again ap-



proached the Rhine, while the Duke of Lorraine advanced with the apparent purpose of joining the Imperial forces. Mannheim and some other towns of less import were recovered by the Bavarian general, and Turenne could obtain from the court no reinforcement to oppose his progress. His own activity and genius, however, supplied the place of all; and though Mayence was menaced and Spire attempted, he maintained his command of the course of the Rhine, and even took Creutznach before the face of Mercy and the Duke of Lorraine. Winter then approaching, and the whole country being exhausted of provisions, he threw reinforcements into the various towns garrisoned by France, sent his cavalry to winter in Alsace and Lorraine, and took up his own quarters at Spire to watch the movements of the enemy.

While such success had followed the arms of France on the banks of the Rhine, the Duke of Orleans, who had taken the command of the army in Flanders, made himself master of Gravelines, after a siege of two months, during which period it was gallantly defended by D. Ferdinand de Solis. When at length it was surrendered, a sharp contestation ensued between the Marshals de Meilleraye and Gassion in regard to who should take possession of the town. The former claimed it as commanding the regiment of guards, the latter as his right according to routine: the soldiers took part with their officers; neither would yield; swords

were drawn; and the successful troops were likely soon to have turned their arms against each other, when Lambert, the camp-marshal of the duke, interfered, and in the name of the commander-in-chief prohibited the soldiers from obeying either Meilleraye or Gassion till the cause of their dispute had been investigated by the prince. The Duke of Orleans decided that it was the privilege of the guards, when present, to take possession of a conquered city, and Meilleraye in consequence entered at the head of that regiment.

It has been remarked, in regard to this decision, that Gassion, though one of the bravest officers in France, though skilful, determined, and active, was nevertheless at no time a favourite with the court of France. His manners were harsh, and his contempt of life so great, that while he risked it on the slightest occasion himself, he took it from others without pity or remorse. He cared too little for anything that could befall him personally to stoop to any minister whatsoever, and consequently could expect but little from the favour of those in power. The decision of the Duke of Orleans, however, seems to have been founded solely upon the etiquette of the service, and was held by most persons but the parties concerned to be just.

With the capture of Gravelines ended the operations of France upon the side of Flanders. The army which had been left by Turenne in Italy effected but little in his absence, and the capture

of the town of Santia was the only advantage gained by France in that quarter.

In Spain a different scene was acting in the course of 1644. Philip the Fourth, under the prudent and sagacious counsels of Don Louis de Haro, was directing his principal efforts to the recovery of Catalonia; and although the army that he could bring into the field was but scanty in numbers, and by no means well provided with the munitions of war, all its first attempts were successful, and offered a favourable presage for the ultimate reduction of the revolted province. Don Philip de Sylva, an officer of experience and determination, was put at the head of the Castilian troops, and immediately advanced to the siege of the strong town of Lerida, the king himself being nominally in command of the army. The French troops in Catalonia were at that time commanded by La Mothe Houdancourt, who no sooner heard of the advance of the Spanish troops towards Lerida than he marched with great rapidity to the relief of that place. Accustomed to contemn the efforts of the Spaniards, the French general took but little precaution; his movements are generally reported to have been rash, his conduct unworthy of his reputation in every point but that of courage; and in a battle which immediately ensued he was totally defeated, with the loss of three thousand men and twelve pieces of artillery.

Four thousand men, however, still remained with-

in the walls of Lerida, and the Spanish army had already suffered so much in the battle and by the diseases then prevalent in the camp, that Don Philip de Sylva himself hesitated in regard to pursuing the siege of that place, but the king's orders were peremptory, and after a long siege Lerida surrendered. La Mothe, in order to compensate in some degree for his defeat, and to draw the Spaniards from their design upon Lerida, had laid siege to Tarragona, and at first obtained some slight advantages, though he had neglected to protect his own camp by lines. But the garrison of Tarragona showed great spirit and courage in defending their city, and, after having lost nearly three thousand men in various attempts upon that place, La Mothe found himself compelled to retire to Barcelona on the approach of Cantelmo with a small Spanish army.

The indignation excited in France by these reverses, as usual, caused a thousand charges, true and false, to be circulated against La Mothe, who was recalled to France, and immediately arrested and committed to the prison of Pierre Encise at Lyons, where he remained for several years, complaining loudly that he was the victim of the hatred of Le Tellier. He was subsequently, however, tried by the parliament of Grenoble, and fully acquitted in 1648.

The commencement of the following year afforded France every prospect of success on the

frontiers of Germany. The Bavarian army, which under the command of Mercy had been unable to effect anything against the Duke d'Enguien and Turenne, had been diminished by a detachment of four thousand men, despatched to aid the Imperial troops opposed to those of Sweden. No sooner did Turenne hear of this movement than he gathered together the forces which were dispersed in winter quarters, and with an army of eleven thousand men and fifteen pieces of cannon advanced towards Wurtemberg, and approached Pforzheim on the Ens, near which Mercy was himself encamped with only six thousand men. On his approach the Bavarian general retreated before him, pursued by Turenne from place to place, till the French commander, having taken Stuttgard, Halle, Mariendal, and some other cities, established his general quarters at Mariendal, expecting to be joined speedily by the troops of Hesse, which would have placed at his command a larger body of men than any that could be brought against him. The want of forage for his horses, however, induced Turenne to disperse his cavalry in small bodies through the neighbouring towns; an error which he had soon cause to repent.

At two in the morning of the 2nd of May, a party which had been despatched to reconnoitre returned to Mariendal, bringing information that Mercy was advancing with a considerable force and the greatest rapidity. Turenne instantly rose,

and despatched orders for all the detachments to concentrate upon the village of Herbsthausen, and for General Rosen to put himself at their head and defend that point until the whole army could be brought to his support. The post of Herbsthausen was masked by a small wood, which had on the other side a vast plain, through which the Bavarian army was forced to advance; and Rosen might have defended the passage through the wood for some time, even if Mercy had not been deterred from attacking him till the dispositions for a general battle were made. The latter indeed was likely to be the case, as it would have required some time to ascertain whether the whole French army was in presence or not, covered as the position of Herbsthausen was by the wood in front. Rosen, however, imagining that Mercy was not so near as he was reported to be, seems to have neglected the advantages of his situation, and instead of passing to the opposite side of the wood with merely a few battalions, as if to defend a post behind which the whole army was in position, he led all the forces which had then arrived into the plain; and though but three thousand men were upon the field, he drew them up in order of battle, exposing the weakness of his force to the enemy.

Such was the state of the case when Turenne arrived; but it was too late to remedy the mistake of Rosen: Mercy was already in presence

of the French army, had discovered the smallness of his adversary's force, and was drawing up his men in order of battle. Turenne hastened to prepare for an encounter which was now unavoidable, and a moment after the Bavarian artillery opened upon the small forces of the French. Mercy, however, soon found that the cannonade produced but little effect, and at the same time perceived, by the increase of the forces on the part of his adversary, that he was losing invaluable time, and that, if he did not profit by the moment, the army of Turenne would soon be equal to his own. In consequence, he marched at the head of his infantry to obtain possession of the small wood; while the famous John de Wert, who commanded the left of the Bavarian army, advanced against Count Rosen, who occupied a post on the right of Turenne, defended by another small wood. Turenne, we are told, perceiving the purpose of Mercy, charged his right wing at the head of the French cavalry, and threw it into disorder. But by this time Rosen was completely defeated and taken prisoner, while De Wert, pushing through the wood, got into the rear of Turenne, who for several minutes was nearly surrounded. That great general, however, succeeded in saving the greater part of his cavalry, though he was obliged to separate from them for a time. Passing through the greater wood, he found three more regiments coming up to the field, with which, and

about twelve hundred men who had escaped from the battle, he effected his retreat as well as he could, after having lost nearly the whole of his infantry, twelve hundred of the cavalry, and the whole of his artillery and baggage.

Such a signal defeat had not been sustained by the French arms for a length of time, and much blame was undoubtedly to be attached to Turenne for suffering himself to be surprised. It is generally allowed, however, that in the terrible state to which his own mistakes and those of Rosen had reduced him, no one could have done more to recover an irretrievable error than he had done at Mariendal. In directing his retreat upon Hesse, also, Turenne had acted wisely, as the troops of his own cousin, Amelia Elizabeth, landgravine of Hesse, were there, ready to give him support, and to enable him to cover the French conquests on the Rhine, till such time as reinforcements could arrive from his native country.

In the mean while, Turenne made every effort to increase his forces so far, before the appearance of any other French general, as to be enabled to retrieve the unfortunate defeat of Mariendal with his own hand; and he consequently despatched messengers to Count Konigsmark, commanding a body of Swedish troops, who had been quartered for the winter in the duchy of Brunswick, beseeching him to hasten to his aid, and representing to him the danger which the common cause ran by the great



superiority which the Bavarians had attained in the field. Konigsmark at once hurried forward to support him, the Hessian troops joined him immediately, and Turenne once more found himself at the head of fifteen thousand men, when despatches from the court announced that Condé was marching to his aid with considerable reinforcements, and forbade him to attempt anything till the arrival of that great commander.

Turenne was very much mortified at this intelligence; and his historians have attributed evil motives to Mazarin in sending Condé to take command of the French army on the Rhine. It would appear, however, that Turenne could expect nothing else. He had been left in command of a large body of troops; he had made a brilliant but somewhat unfruitful march through Wurtemberg into Suabia, and had then suffered himself to be surprised and signally defeated, when he had every reason to believe that the Imperial and Bavarian generals would make the greatest efforts to drive him from the position he had assumed. That it was no partiality for Condé or ill-will towards Turenne which actuated Mazarin upon the present occasion, is established by the fact of the army placed under the command of the former in 1645 having been very inferior in numbers to that which was left with Turenne; and that the insignificant object entrusted to the greatest warrior of his day was, to cover the force besieging the small town

of La Mothe, against the efforts of the Duke of Lorraine.

Such was the actual occupation of Condé when he received orders to march with the eight thousand men under his command, in order to recover whatever advantages had been lost by the defeat of Turenne. On effecting his junction with the combined armies, Condé found himself at the head of twenty-three thousand men; and some skilful manœuvres took place both on his part and that of Mercy, the one threatening Heilbronn, the other endeavouring to prevent the attack of that place. After taking Wimpfen, however, the Swedes, who had only come to support Turenne, and had with difficulty been prevailed upon to remain with Condé, after the French army had been so much increased as to be able to keep the field unaided, peremptorily insisted upon taking their departure in consequence of a quarrel between Condé and Count Konigsmark.

The Hessians, nevertheless, remained with the French general; and Mercy still manœuvring for the security of Heilbronn, came in presence of the adverse army on the 1st of August. Condé, however, finding that the position in which he was at the time was by no means favourable for engaging the enemy, after having cannonaded the Bavarian forces during a part of the 2nd, decamped during the night, and approached the town of Nordlingen with the purpose of attacking that city. Mercy

also hastened towards it as rapidly as possible ; and towards midday of the 3rd, Condé received information that the enemy had appeared in the plain, and were beginning to form an entrenched camp for the purpose of impeding his proceedings.

Out of the plain of Nordlingen, to the east of that city, but at a considerable distance from it, rise two hills with a valley between them ; and a little in advance of the mouth of that valley is a small village called Allerheim. In going from Allerheim up the valley and turning one's back upon Nordlingen, the hill on the left is called the Weinberg, and that on the right is crowned by the old castle of Allerheim, separated from the village by a considerable space of sloping ground broken by a rugged hollow way. Such was the position chosen by the keen eye of Mercy, whose right, under General Glen, occupied the Weinberg, while his left, under John de Wert, stretched across the other hill, on which stood the castle of Allerheim. The centre, under his own immediate command, was drawn up across the valley in three lines, having in front the village of Allerheim, occupied by a strong body of infantry, and strengthened by such works as the shortness of time permitted the Bavarian general to construct. Entrenchments also had been formed along the brow of the hills, and everything had been done to strengthen a position naturally advantageous.

Such was the position of the Bavarian army

when the French came in sight; and although the force under Condé amounted to seventeen or eighteen thousand men, while that commanded by Mercy was below fifteen thousand, Turenne judged the post to be impregnable, and strongly advised the duke not to attack it. Condé, however, was determined to wipe out the stain upon the French arms left by the defeat of Mariendal, and gave orders for attack. The Maréchal Duc de Grammont commanded the right wing of the French army, opposing John de Wert; Turenne led on the left, against Glen; and the Count de Marsin was at the head of the centre; while a considerable reserve, which acted as a second line to the right wing, appeared under the command of Chabot.

The battle began by a severe cannonade; but the artillery planted on the two eminences so completely commanded the plain, that Condé found it would be necessary to commence an immediate attack upon the enemy's position, without waiting any farther for the effect of his own cannon. The possession of the village of Allerheim was, of course, the first point to be striven for by the French, and the Count de Marsin was directed to attack it with a part of the infantry. He advanced accordingly about five o'clock in the afternoon, at the head of several picked battalions, and soon made himself master of the entrenchments which defended the village on the side of the plain. Pushing on into the streets of Allerheim, however, he

met with a much more desperate resistance. The houses had been filled with musketeers, as well as the steeple of the church and the cemetery, which was enclosed within high walls pierced for musketry. The fire that opened from all these quarters upon the French was most tremendous ; the Count de Marsin was dangerously wounded, and carried to the rear ; the French infantry were swept down, or picked off man by man as they advanced : they were thrown into confusion, lost heart, and were flying, when the Marquis de la Moussaye, sent by Condé to their support at the head of several fresh regiments, passed the entrenchment and entered the town. These, however, were likewise repulsed in a moment, and while flying in confusion, were met by Condé himself, who, seeing the disarray into which the parties that he had thrown forward were thus cast, had put himself at the head of the great body of the French infantry, and led them on to the attack of Allerheim. Mercy, who perceived this movement, and knew the determination of his own troops and the advantages of their position in the village, exclaimed with joy, “ God has turned the heads of the Frenchmen—they are rushing to defeat !”—and advancing himself with a considerable body of infantry, he hastened to support his forces in Allerheim and encounter Condé in person.

Through every street, and at every turning, the fire was now incessant, the carnage tremen-

dous ; and in the thickest of the whole fight appeared Condé and Mercy, each imagining that the fate of the day would depend upon the possession of the village. Two horses were shot under Condé ; his hat, his clothes, were pierced with musket-balls ; he received a slight wound in the thigh ; and the officers and soldiers, alike fearing for the life of one on whom so much depended, called to him loudly to quit that narrow scene of slaughter, but in vain. Still he led them on against the Bavarian forces, encouraging them by his words and his gestures, seizing upon every advantage, repairing every disaster, till at length he received a musket-ball in the arm ; and almost at the same moment Mercy was shot dead within a hundred yards of where the adverse general stood.

The death of their commander, however, was far from discouraging the Bavarian troops : rage was added to determination, and the struggle in the village was continued to extermination. In the meanwhile, the Maréchal de Grammont had advanced, for the purpose of attacking the left of the Bavarian position, but had become embarrassed by the ravine in front of John de Wert. That general immediately charged him at the head of his troops, and drove him back fighting, beyond his former position. Grammont rallied his forces, however, and by a brilliant charge broke through the line of the enemy, but suffering his impetuosity to carry him too far, got entangled unsupported, and was eventually

wounded and taken. The German commander instantly seized upon the advantage, routed the rest of the French cavalry that opposed him, poured down upon the reserve under Chabot, who was killed at the head of his troops, and drove everything before him over the plain. Committing the same mistake, however, which nearly at the same period was committed by the famous Prince Rupert in England, he pursued his advantage over the right wing of the French too eagerly, forgot the general in the soldier, and in following up the flying squadrons of Grammont and Chabot, suffered victory to escape from his hands.

At that moment the French were defeated on the left, repulsed in the centre with the loss of several thousand men in the village, and held in check upon the right of the German position; and had John de Wert, instead of pursuing the fugitives from the French right wing, turned upon the rear or on the flank of Condé, the day would have been completely lost to France. At this critical period, however, when the duke, in his attack upon an almost impregnable position, had nearly met with a complete defeat, the extraordinary military genius with which he was born, and which seldom suffered, even in the midst of strife, of victory, or of disappointment, a single advantage to escape his eagle eye, burst forth to save the French army and turn defeat into triumph.

Nearly at the same moment, the tidings were

brought to him, that his right wing under Grammont was totally defeated, that the reserve on the right was also in flight, and that Turenne, after having scaled the heights of the Weinberg and forced the first entrenchments, was held in check with his troops wavering and on the eve of defeat. The first advantages which had been gained during the day, however, were on that side. Condé looked around him, and saw that his troops in the centre, after suffering tremendous loss, were keeping up, in confusion and disarray, a fierce but hopeless hand-to-hand fight in the village. He found that the second line of the Hessians had remained in the plain inactive, while Turenne had scaled the heights occupied by General Glen; and his scheme, even at that last moment, for recovering the fortunes of the day was formed in an instant.

Putting himself at the head of some regiments of cavalry, he galloped to the left, commanded the second line of the Hessians to follow him instantly, and charged up the hill in support of Turenne, whose troops were by this time falling into confusion.

The arrival of Condé with such a strong reinforcement at once turned the balance; the cavalry of the Imperialists was driven back, their infantry broken and defeated, their artillery captured and turned against themselves; while Condé and Turenne, wheeling their troops on the summit of the hill, took the Bavarians in flank, and charging with



the impetus of victory, drove them down into the plain, captured General Glen, and pushed the flying forces of the enemy for nearly half a mile beyond the village. Then, turning upon Allerheim, the victors prepared to attack the troops which it contained; but the Bavarian forces which occupied the village, finding themselves surrounded by the French and Hessians, surrendered at discretion.

Night was now beginning to fall, and the defeat of the right wing and centre of the Imperial army was complete, when John de Wert returned to the field with the victorious left, and saw the effect, which his serious error had produced. He did, however, what he could to repair the evil, rallied the fugitives as far as possible, and under cover of the night effected his retreat to Donauwert.

At break of day Turenne set off in pursuit; but De Wert paused not for a moment till he had placed the Danube between himself and the enemy, and Turenne returned to reap the fruits of a victory in which he had had so great a share. The retreat of De Wert would have left the result of the battle clear and ascertained; but Condé had also gained the field, all the cannon, and the greater part of the baggage of the enemy. Grammont had been taken on the one side, and Glen on the other; but Mercy had fallen, and there was scarcely a man in all Germany capable of replacing him.

Nevertheless, this victory, though decisive, had cost the French a high and terrible price. So tre-

mendous had been the slaughter in the village, that for several days after, not fifteen hundred of the French infantry could be collected together; and the army was so enfeebled, that no great operations were likely to take place. Several small towns, indeed, surrendered to the French and Hessian army; but, in consequence of fatigue, excitement, and bad air, Condé fell ill and was no longer able to pursue the campaign. He consequently resigned his command to Turenne, and was carried back to France in a litter; but before he went he wrote to the queen, giving an account of the battle, and with the generosity of true courage he attributed the whole success of the day to Turenne, whose attack upon the right of the Imperial army had so greatly contributed to the victory. Shortly after, he himself received a letter from the Queen of Sweden, thanking him for having avenged upon the plains of Nordlingen the defeat which the Swedes had met with on that spot some time before. Mercy was buried near the field of battle, and on his tomb they engraved "Sta Viator, Heroem calcas."

The military glory of Condé had now reached the highest pitch it was possible to attain; but it seemed as if Death, who had so often spared him in the field, was now about to visit him in the more appalling form of slow and lingering disease. The whole nation was agitated with the report of his illness; physicians were sent to him from Paris;

and for some time the event was doubtful. At length, however, the fever from which he suffered abated, and in repose and a better air he soon recovered his former strength.

In the mean while, the French and Hessian army, under Turenne and Grammont, who since his capture had been exchanged against Glen, had proceeded to Halle, and showed a resolution of taking up its winter quarters at a distance from the Rhine; but the plans and purposes of the French generals were defeated by the junction of the army of the Archduke Leopold with that under John de Wert and Glen, forming a corps so much superior to any that Turenne could oppose to it, that immediate retreat became necessary. The French army, consequently, decamped at the approach of the Bavarians, swam the Neckar, each trooper carrying a foot soldier behind him, and paused not till it found itself under the cannon of Philippsburg. The Imperialists pursued; but Turenne had entrenched himself between the city and the Rhine with his infantry, causing Grammont to pass the river with the cavalry: and the position he occupied had been rendered so strong, that the enemy dared not attack his camp. The Archduke, however, did not fail to take advantage of his superiority, and marching back from Philippsburg, made himself master of Wimpfen and all the towns which the French had acquired between the Neckar and the Danube, and restored the whole country to the

same state in which it had been before the commencement of the campaign.

No sooner had the enemy retired, than Turenne, anxious to obtain some advantage as a compensation on the part of France, determined to attempt the restoration of the Elector of Treves to his territories. That unfortunate prince had been stripped and imprisoned in the beginning of the war, and his situation had afforded pretexts and causes of quarrel to all parties. On the commencement of the negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Munster, he had been set at liberty at the demands of France, but had not been restored to his dominions. Turenne, therefore, concerted a plan with his own court for the purpose of seizing upon Treves, the garrison of which place was but scanty; and setting out in the beginning of November, with a large body of cavalry and scarcely any infantry, he advanced with rapid marches towards that city, sending a part of the Hessian horse to disperse the troops which had collected on the other side of the Moselle, for the purpose of relieving the place as soon as it appeared to be menaced.

At the same time, a reinforcement of French infantry and a train of artillery dropped down the Moselle from Metz, and on the 14th November Treves was invested. After a few days' feeble resistance, the governor, finding that there was no chance of relief, and that his garrison was not

sufficient in number to hold out against the French army, demanded to capitulate, and on the 20th November the place surrendered to Turenne. This concluded the campaign on the side of Germany, and in February 1646 Turenne quitted the banks of the Rhine and returned to Paris.

On the side of Flanders, although no such remarkable event took place as the battle of Nordlingen, the substantial success of the French was in reality greater. The Duke of Orleans, with Marshals Gassion and Rantzau under his command, proceeded from place to place, adding a vast district to the territories of France on that frontier; and after the duke had quitted the camp and returned to the court, the successes of the two subordinate officers were still more important, though Mardike and Cassel were retaken.

In Spain, also, the events of the war were equally favourable to France. La Mothe having been recalled and imprisoned, as we have before mentioned, the Count de Harcourt was withdrawn from Savoy and put at the head of fresh forces, for the purpose of repairing the disasters of the former general. He was accompanied by Duplessis Praslin and the celebrated Fabert; and while collecting the troops at Agde, it was determined to lay immediate siege to the strong fortress of Rosas, which commanded the principal entrance of Catalonia from the side of Roussillon. It was arranged

• Usually written *Rosas*, I do not know why.

also, that while Duplessis conducted the operations before that place, the Count de Harcourt should take up a position in the plains of Urgel to cover the siege against the attempts of Cantelmo, who now commanded the Spanish army in Catalonia.

Shortly before the place was invested, however, Fabert himself, in a skirmish with a large body of Spanish cavalry, was taken prisoner and carried into Rosas, and, by an extraordinary combination of circumstances, proved as useful to the besieging army within as he could have been without the walls of the fortress. The governor of that place, Don Diego de Cavalliero, a brave and determined officer, displayed in his conduct towards his prisoner the not unusual mixture of credulity and suspicion; and though he refused during the whole period of the siege to suffer Fabert to retire upon parole, fearing the consequences of his experience upon the French counsels, he nevertheless did not scruple to consult him in regard to the defence of the place, and took his advice upon many important points with a degree of confidence certainly very extraordinary. His own experience in military affairs was but very slight, and after the opening of the trenches, which took place on the 7th of April 1645, he spent daily many hours with Fabert, endeavouring to gain from him that knowledge of which he himself was destitute. Fabert did not scruple to turn this disposition to advantage, and considered himself perfectly justified in giving

to an officer who strove to gain from him advice detrimental to his country, counsels which were calculated to have a perfectly different effect. So great indeed did he find the governor's credulity, that he at length ventured to advise him to draw off the water from the moat on the side of the principal attack;\* and the governor did not fail to follow such directions to the letter.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Rosas, notwithstanding its great strength, surrendered after no very prolonged resistance. On the 28th of May, the governor signed a capitulation, which he employed Fabert himself to draw up, and which, without being dishonourable to the Spaniards, was highly advantageous to the French.

On the 31st of the same month, the French entered Rosas, thus taking possession of a fortress which gave them easy admission into Catalonia till the end of the war. No sooner was this advantage obtained, than the Count de Harcourt marched on, and, after capturing some places of minor import, passed the Segre, encountered the army of Cantelmo in the neighbourhood of Llorens, and, gaining a complete victory, made himself master of Balaguer. Such was the conclusion of the campaign on the side of Catalonia.

Beyond the Alps, also, the arms of France were

\* This fact is related by M. du Bosquet, upon the authority of Fabert himself.

triumphant: Prince Thomas of Savoy gained several advantages over the Spaniards in the beginning of the year, took the small place of Rocca di Vigevano, and threatened the Milanese. His forces were inadequate, indeed, to any very great undertakings; but finding that Duplessis Praslin was leading a reinforcement to join him, after the successful attack upon Rosas, he hastened to meet that general, and finding the Spaniards encamped upon the Mora, he attacked their quarters with vigour and success, routed the force opposed to him, and opened a free passage for his troops in whatever direction he chose to lead them. Disputes however arose between him and Duplessis, which prevented him from following up his successes, and in the end of the campaign the Spaniards resumed the offensive and recovered Rocca.

Thus ended the military events of 1645; and the following year opened once more in Flanders with the success of the French. Not well satisfied with the minor advantages gained by the Duke of Orleans, the Regent and Mazarin were extremely anxious that the army in the Low Countries should be placed under the command of the Duke d'Enghuën. But to propose such a thing to the uncle of the king, and the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, without leaving him the option of taking the command himself, could not of course be done, and the Duke of Orleans very soon showed his determination of pursuing the war in that quarter in person.



Consultations took place, it would appear, between Mazarin and Condé upon the subject, and with that generous freedom from all jealousy which Condé always evinced in military affairs, he himself proposed to serve under the Duke of Orleans; a task which could not have been demanded at his hands. He, however, was placed at the head of a separate corps, though still under the general command of the duke; and from the commencement of the campaign, it was evident to all, how the bold genius of Condé was crippled by the weak indecision of Gaston. The great general's first project was to cross the Scheldt, and to open the campaign by fighting the enemy, who lay in the neighbourhood of Tournay. A battle gained in the commencement of the year,—and Condé had never yet failed to gain a battle when he fought it,—would have laid open the whole country to the efforts of the French, and would have enabled them to pursue to its conclusion any siege which they undertook, with ease and rapidity.

His counsel, however, was rejected, and instead it was determined to besiege Courtray in the first instance. Accordingly, while Condé advanced, and, crossing the Scheldt, kept in check the Duke of Lorraine, Gaston of Orleans laid siege to Courtray, accompanied and counselled by his favourite the Abbé de la Rivière, whose indecision and timidity, added to that of his master, of course rendered

everything that was undertaken weak, tedious, and hesitating.

The siege continued for a considerable length of time, and finding that his troops were not sufficient, or his military knowledge not competent to the capture of Courtray, the Duke of Orleans recalled Condé to the camp, and more vigour was immediately perceived. The Spanish army, however, advanced in order to relieve the place, and made many efforts for that purpose. All proved in vain, however, and on the 28th of June Courtray surrendered. Condé was still anxious to fight the enemy; but the Spanish and Imperial generals contrived to deceive the Duke of Orleans and effected their retreat unattacked. In the plain of Bruges, indeed, the Spanish army was once more found drawn up in battle array, and Condé immediately proposed to engage them; but the Duke of Orleans procrastinated, delaying all decision till the following morning; and during the night the enemy had once more effected their retreat. As soon as that fact was known, Condé pursued with his division, but could effect nothing except the capture of a few prisoners, one of whom he took with his own hand. From him, however, he received the most gratifying compliment, perhaps, that ever his great military genius obtained. The young officer whom he had captured was not aware into whose hands he had fallen, and as Condé brought him back towards his

staff, from which he had been separated, he demanded why the Spaniards had decamped so quickly during the preceding night. The young man replied simply, that it was because they had learned the Duke d'Enguien was at the head of the advanced guard of the French forces.

During all these operations, the French commanders had been in daily expectation of important diversions being effected in their favour by the efforts of the Prince of Orange. That general, however, was now in the decline of life, was embarrassed by the dissensions between Holland and Zealand, and by the evident determination of the United Provinces to make a separate peace with Spain. He complained also that he could effect nothing without some reinforcements from France; and a body of French infantry was in consequence detached to his aid, under the command of Marshal Grammont, while the French army retired upon the Lys, and the siege of Bergues St. Winox was undertaken on the 30th of July 1646.

That town made no resistance, and surrendered on the following day. Condé then proposed to attack Dunkirk; but the Duke of Orleans was anxious to recapture Mardyke, which had been taken and retaken during the preceding campaign. During this siege, the Spanish army, under the Marquis of Caracena, lay under the cannon of Dunkirk, and gave constant assistance to the besieged, as well as constant annoyance to the French army. The

place was gallantly defended also by the garrison ; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, the trenches were pushed forward ; and at the attack of the Duke d'Enguien, on the night of the 12th of August, the French established themselves on the counterscarp.

Condé had remained in the trenches all night, and at break of day, believing that the enemy would not undertake any very great enterprise during the daylight, he retired to his tent, when suddenly he was again roused by the news, that a sally had been made by the garrison, that the soldiers in the trenches had been driven back, the cannon spiked, and the whole labours of the night rendered ineffectual. Rushing out, he cast himself into the midst of the conflict, and while commanding as a general and fighting as a common soldier, he would have been inevitably killed or taken prisoner, had not his company of light-horse, commanded by the Count of Bussy Rabutin, come up at the charge, and driven back the sally party towards the town, thus giving time for the troops in the trenches to rally, and recover a part of the advantages which had been lost. It was at the expense, however, of terrible slaughter ; for of those whom Bussy led into the field not quite one half returned alive.

The carnage amongst the young nobility of France at the siege of Mardyke was tremendous ; and on the 15th of August, Condé again ran the

risk of being killed, not indeed, on this occasion, by the enemy, but by one of his own soldiers, who, in passing by him with his hat full of gunpowder under his arm and a lighted match in his hand, suffered a spark to fall into the powder, which exploded and wounded the general severely in the face and in the arm. One of the gazetteers of the day took pains to assure the public of France that the duke had been severely wounded in an encounter with the enemy, probably thinking to win the favour of the prince by such a version of the accident. Condé, however, was no false hero, and he scoffed at the falsehood with the scorn it merited.

Mardyke very shortly after surrendered, and the Duke of Orleans returning to the court, left the Duke d'Enguien in that command, for which he was much more fitted than himself. No sooner was he gone than Condé determined at once to lay siege to Dunkirk. He was opposed by many difficulties: the country was cut up by canals, which were skilfully defended by the Marquis of Caracena; but, nevertheless, Condé pushed forward with such activity, that he soon forced the Spanish general to retreat, made himself master of Furnes, established magazines at that place and at Bergues, and, fearing that the former would be attacked from the side of Flanders, he hastened to throw up works around it, being the first general, it is remarked, in Europe, that ever conceived the extraordinary idea of fortifying one city for the purpose of taking

another. In fifteen days the fortifications were complete, and in the mean time he had sent messengers to beseech the Dutch to co-operate vigorously with him by sea. His request had been granted by the States, and by the time that he was ready to commence the siege of Dunkirk, fifteen French frigates, supported by the Dutch fleet, were prepared to complete the blockade by sea.

In the mean time, however, the Spanish and Imperial troops were gathering round from all quarters. The Duke of Lorraine with an experienced army lay upon the frontiers of Holland, Bec and Piccolomini occupied a position near Den-dermond, and the Marquis of Caracena and General Lambois lay at Nieuport. At the same time, it was with very great difficulty that Condé could construct any works for the defence of his camp, as the lightness of the soil, which was little better than a moving sand, rendered all the efforts of the engineer tedious and laborious.

The Marquis of Lede, who commanded in Dunkirk, an able and experienced officer, showed an indomitable degree of courage and activity: every effort of the French troops was met with determination and promptitude, and the Imperial forces threatened daily to attack the duke in his camp. The appearance of such an intention, however, only induced Condé to push the siege with redoubled vigour. An attempt made by Piccolomini to force his way into the French camp at the quarters of

Marshal Gassion was frustrated with considerable loss to the Imperialists, and day by day the success of the French became more probable. The outworks of Dunkirk one by one fell into the hands of the assailants; and at length Condé, unwilling to expose either the town itself or his own troops to the carnage of an assault, sent a trumpet to the governor to point out that the place was nearly indefensible, and to offer favourable terms of capitulation. In return, the Marquis de Lede despatched an officer to examine the French works, as had been proposed; and although his report tended to show that the place could not be held out much longer, the governor still resisted for some days, till at length, convinced that no succour was likely to reach him, he offered to surrender in a fortnight if not relieved. Condé, however, would not agree to so long a term, offering to give the garrison three days, and to yield it the honours of war if not relieved at the end of that period. The governor then demanded, that all prisoners made during the siege should be set at liberty on both sides. This was agreed to by the duke, and on the 11th of December the French took possession of Dunkirk.

The fall of that place, however, was followed by a quarrel between Condé and Marshal Gassion, who had failed to restore his prisoners according to the articles of the capitulation of Dunkirk. The duke reproached his inferior officer sharply, Gassion replied in the same manner; and from that quarrel

arose a coolness between two men who mutually esteemed each other. The military discipline, however, and subordination of the French army was at that time by no means exact; and the number of duels which daily took place, notwithstanding the severe prohibition of the practice which still existed, showed the lax state into which every branch of authority had fallen under the hands of Mazarin. Two of those duels are sufficiently remarkable to justify some details, as they show strongly the character and manners of the time.

When the army was marching upon Bergues through the heat of a day in July, Bussy Rabutin and the Chevalier d'Issigny, at the head of a party of light-horse under the command of the former, entered one of the great deserted towns of Flanders, where they saw a small body of infantry drinking at a well with their officer. Approaching the well, Bussy, who was in haste, asked the foot-soldiers to give him the bucket in order to drink; but their officer replied, without looking at him, that he was on horseback, and they more pressed for time than he was. Bussy then ordered his troopers to bring him the bucket, and having drunk, handed it to his friend, who, in turn, having satisfied his thirst, gave it to the horsemen behind him, who passed it from hand to hand, so that the infantry officer was obliged to recommence his march without having drunk.

He grumbled a good deal as he went away, and



Issigny exclaimed aloud, "Do you hear, Bussy? That brave man seems to threaten us! He is very savage!"

Neither Bussy nor the infantry officer made any reply; but as the troops marched on, they saw him inquiring apparently who they were. The cavalry, which at that time was in general composed of persons of higher rank than the infantry, looked down with great contempt upon the foot; and Bussy and his companion amused themselves a good deal at the expense of the officer, making a joke of the idea that he would call them out. No sooner had they arrived at Bergues, however, than Issigny came to his friend to tell him that he had received a challenge from their little friend on foot. As they had arranged before in jest, Bussy acted as second to Issigny; and the two cavalry officers, scoffing at the small swords of their opponents in the infantry, met them according to appointment the next morning. As was customary, while Issigny engaged the officer whom they had deprived of his draught at the well, the two seconds pulled off their pourpoints and drew their swords also. Bussy, however, wounded and disarmed his opponent, and then went to separate the others.

As the whole party were putting on their pourpoints again, the officer who had been engaged with Issigny turned to Bussy, saying, "I did what I could, sir, to bring our affair to an end the first."

"*Mordieu!*" cried Issigny rudely, "it is much less

my fault than your's, my little friend, that it was not so, for I could not advance so fast as you retreated."

Four or five friends of the cavalry officers arriving at that moment, the opponent of Issigny made no reply; but the next morning the chevalier received a note, telling him that he would find his adversary in an appointed place, if, after his insult of the preceding day, he was inclined once more to give him a meeting for the purpose of cutting each other's throats uninterrupted. Issigny immediately took a brace of pistols, and set out alone to meet the infantry officer, whom he found at the place named. They then charged, the pistols in each other's presence, and, as is still customary in France, advanced upon each other to fire when they pleased. Issigny, however, held his finger ready, and having a very thick glove upon his hand, pressed the trigger without being aware of it, causing the pistol to go off while pointed in the air. His adversary then advanced upon him, commanding him to give up his sword; but the chevalier refused, and the infantry officer firing, broke his thigh with the pistol-shot.

Issigny immediately fell, and the other running up to him, told him, that if he were not content, he would give him his revenge, offering to charge the pistols again, and lie down beside him while they mutually took another shot at each other. Issigny, however, refused, saying he was perfectly satisfied,

and begging his adversary to run to the Count de Bussy, and request him to bring a surgeon and a confessor, which was accordingly done. He was removed from the ground to Bergues, where it was found necessary to amputate his leg immediately; but he died a quarter of an hour after the operation, praising with his last breath the courage and frankness of the man who had killed him, and acknowledging that he had himself provoked the fate he met with.

About the same time another duel took place in the army between the Count de Rieux and a gentleman named Vassé. The second of the Count de Rieux was an officer of the name of Beaujeu, a man celebrated with the bad celebrity of a duellist, holding his head very high upon that evil reputation, but somewhat suspected of talking more loudly and boldly with the young and inexperienced than with the old and tried. He was, however, undoubtedly a man of much courage, strength, and skill; and opposed to him, as second of Vassé, was a young officer named Le Bret, an ensign in the regiment of Piedmont, and a mere inexperienced youth. As they were taking off their coats for the combat, Beaujeu looked at his boyish adversary with a contemptuous smile, saying, "At least, Sir, I trust you will somewhat spare a poor novice in such encounters like myself."

"Enough, enough," replied Le Bret, gravely, "We shall soon see who has most cause to laugh;"

and in a very few passes he disarmed his boasting adversary, and at the same moment ran him through the body.

Such are some traits of the disorderly state of the French camp during the campaign of 1646; and from time to time we shall not scruple to give similar anecdotes, in order to exemplify the changes which took place in the manners of the country.

While Condé was pursuing his usual course of success, Turenne had returned to the banks of the Rhine, and was preparing to effect his junction with the Swedes under the command of Wrangel, when he received orders from Mazarin not to put that intention in effect, on account of a promise which the Duke of Bavaria had given, to forbear from uniting his army with that of the Emperor, if the French abstained from joining the Swedes. Completely deceived by this assurance, Mazarin ordered Turenne, instead of marching across Nassau for the purpose of meeting Wrangel in Hesse, to march towards Flanders, and lay siege to Luxemburg. Turenne, however, was more clear-sighted: he felt convinced that the Duke of Bavaria was deceiving the French court; saw that if he marched towards Luxemburg the Swedes might be annihilated, and all that the French had gained on the banks of the Rhine might be utterly lost. He gained time, therefore, upon various pretexts, and remained in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg, till he had ascertained that the Bavarian

army, marching on with rapid steps, had united with the Imperialists in Franconia. No time was now to be lost; a few days more would bring the allied troops upon Wrangel; it was utterly impossible that the small forces under his command could offer any effectual resistance, and the whole fruits of the thirty years' war were upon the eve of being lost. Turenne's determination was taken in a moment. He sent messengers to inform Mazarin of his purpose, but he waited for no approbation of that purpose. The united Imperial and Bavarian army had now advanced and interposed between him and the Swedes; it was impossible any longer to pass into Hesse by Nassau; but Turenne leaving a part of his infantry at Mayence marched towards Cologne, fording the Moselle six leagues above Coblenz, arrived after a rapid but fatiguing march at Wesel in Holland, and having obtained with difficulty permission to pass through that town, he crossed the Rhine, and despatched messengers to Wrangel to inform him of his approach.

The Swedish general, now encamped upon the frontiers of Hesse, between Wetzlar and Giessen, upon the Lahn, was in presence of the Imperial army, and severely straitened by its approach. Turenne had still an immense tract of country to traverse before he could join the forces of Sweden: but he lost not a moment on his march, crossing the country of La Marc, following the course of the Lippe, and then bending back across

a part of Westphalia; so that after one of the most rapid and difficult marches upon record, he effected his junction with the Swedes on the 10th of August.

The Imperialists had not ventured to attack Wrangel in his fortified camp; but nevertheless, even after the arrival of Turenne, they were considerably superior in number to the French and Swedish armies. The Archduke, however, retreated at once several leagues to Friedberg, where he encamped, and began with all haste to fortify himself in a strong position. As soon as the allied troops had in some degree recovered from their fatigues, Turenne and Wrangel marched towards the Imperial camp, as if to attack it. The Archduke hastened to complete his intrenchments and fortify himself more securely; but Turenne, who sought nothing but a free passage, marched on towards the Main, and halted between Hanau and Frankfort, at the distance of about ten leagues from Mayence. Having arrived at this position after a circuit of many hundred miles, he sent orders to the infantry which he had left in Mayence to join him immediately; and as soon as this was effected, he crossed the Main, and ascending that river took Seligenstadt, and Aschaffenburg, and cast the whole country into terror and confusion.

The smallness of Turenne's army prevented him from putting garrisons in the towns which he cap-

tured, but nevertheless he found a rich and productive country before him, quite capable of supporting his troops. He destroyed the fortifications of all the principal places on his march, and the soldiery, rejoicing in the plunder of a country, which had fancied itself in perfect security under the wings of the Austrian and Bavarian eagles, followed him with joy and spirit across Franconia and Suabia. Thus proceeding with scarcely any opposition, Turenne marched on towards Munich; and while the Swedes laid siege to the strong town of Rain, the French advanced and summoned Augsburg to surrender.

It would seem, however, that some jealousy at this time existed amongst the Swedes in regard to the conquests of the French, and Wrangel despatched messengers to Turenne to inform him that he found great difficulties in the siege of Rain. The French marshal, in order to yield him assistance, gave up the siege of Augsburg for the time, and marched to Rain, which almost immediately surrendered on the junction of the French troops with those of Sweden. During the siege, however, the conversation of Wrangel, who often alluded to the former capture of Augsburg by Gustavus Adolphus, showed Turenne what had been the real object of that general in withdrawing him from that place: and the error which he had committed in listening to his call, was rendered more important,

by the entrance of twelve hundred Bavarians into the city in question.

Nevertheless, after the fall of Rain, the united armies once more advanced and laid siege to Augsburg, and the trenches were opened both on the French and Swedish sides of the place. Before the siege had proceeded far, however, the Archduke at the head of the Imperial and Bavarian armies marched to the relief of Augsburg, receiving strong reinforcements by the way. His army, when it appeared in the neighbourhood of the allies, was far superior to that opposed to him, and Turenne and Wrangel were forced to retreat; while the Archduke took up his quarters at the distance of five leagues from Landsberg, where he had established very large and important magazines. Turenne at once conceived that his purpose was to suffer his adversaries to exhaust the supplies of the country, and then, when straitened for provisions, to attack, and drive them back towards the Rhine, which would at once have placed in his power, all the towns that France and Sweden had acquired during an arduous campaign.

It was determined, therefore, to endeavour to frustrate this design; and notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, the allies marched towards his camp with the purpose of attacking it. The precautions of the Archduke, however, rendered such a measure too hazardous, and, after reconnoitring his position, Turenne executed a scheme which he had



reserved as an alternative, if the attack could not be made. Leaving within sight of the Archduke's camp, but at as great a distance as possible, a body of two thousand horse, he caused it to display a very extended front, while the rest of the army filed off towards the Lech, passed that river over a bridge which the Imperialists had left, and suddenly turned upon Landsberg, which was at once taken by escalade. The magazines of the Imperial army now fell into the hands of the allies, and Turenne and Wrangel were fully furnished with provisions; while the Archduke, without supplies, and in the midst of an exhausted country, was obliged to decamp, to separate from the Bavarians, and to retire into the Austrian territories, leaving Bavaria to its fate.

The allies immediately marched upon Memmingen, and the Duke of Bavaria, seeing himself threatened with utter destruction, sent messengers begging to treat separately with the King of France. Conferences were held at Ulm in consequence of this step, and a convention was arranged, by which it was stipulated that the Duke of Bavaria should entirely abandon the Emperor, should either place or leave in the hands of France all the towns between Ulm and Donauwerth, with a number of other fortified places, which left Bavaria entirely open to the French troops, and that the right of passage and provisions should be granted to the armies of France and Sweden.

The greatest advantages which had yet been

gained in Germany were now obtained ; the Imperial army, separated from the Bavarians, did not amount to more than twelve thousand men ; the allies, with some fresh reinforcements which had joined them, brought into the field a force of thirty-four thousand ; they were already in the heart of the country ; an unimpeded retreat was secured in case of need by the places they held in Bavaria ; and it seemed that one blow more would effect the ruin of the house of Austria, that object for which France had struggled during so many years. But at that moment Turenne received an order from Mazarin to separate from the Swedish army and lead his forces to Flanders, where they were, in truth, much needed.

In vain the great general remonstrated and represented to the French court that an opportunity would be lost which would never come again, and that two or three marches would render the King of France arbiter of the destiny of the empire ; Mazarin and the queen persisted, furnished with plausible reasons by the Catholic princes of Germany, who were then treating with France at Munster. Those princes took care to represent to Anne of Austria, that she was in fact warring against catholicism in Germany, that it would be the Swedes who would derive all the real advantages from any further successes against the emperor, and that if she now withdrew her troops, she would hold in her hand the fate of all parties.

These arguments, but still more the situation of the Low Countries, proved conclusive with Anne of Austria and Mazarin, and the orders which Turenne had received were reiterated. He was commanded to provide for the security of all the places which had been taken by France since the beginning of the campaign, and to establish commanders therein in whose determination and fidelity he could trust. Finding some hesitation on the part of Turenne, the Queen wrote to him again with her own hand, commanding him to proceed directly towards Luxemburg; and he accordingly began his march, taking Wiblingen, Tübingen, Steinheim, Darmstadt, and several other towns, which ensured the free passage of French troops at any time to the places which they held in Bavaria.

Before we proceed to notice the events which still farther delayed the great French general, in the beginning of the year 1647, it may be necessary to turn to those military transactions in other quarters which called the Prince de Condé (who had now succeeded his father) from his victorious course in Flanders, to take the command of the French army in the Peninsula. In Italy, but little of any great importance had happened, except at the siege of Orbitello, which was undertaken by Prince Thomas of Savoy, at the command of Mazarin, in order, it would seem, to intimidate the Pope, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the French minister. Orbitello, though a town of Tus-

cany, was garrisoned by Spanish troops, under the command of Don Carlos de la Gasta; and the French fleet under the Duke de Brézé, nephew of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and brother-in-law of the Duke d'Enguien, was ordered to cooperate with Prince Thomas in the reduction of that place. The Spanish fleet, however, led by the Marquis of Pimentel, sailed to the relief of Orbitello, and a naval engagement ensued between the French and Spaniards, in which the Duke de Brézé was killed at the age of twenty-seven. The French and the Spaniards both claimed the victory; but the Spaniards kept the sea, the blockade of Orbitello was broken, and Prince Thomas obliged to raise the siege with disgrace. Du Plessis and the Maréchal de Meilleraye, however, repaired this defeat in some degree by the capture of Porto Longone in the island of Elba; and Piombino was also taken upon the continent of Italy.

In Savoy the power of France and Spain remained nearly balanced; but in Spain itself the campaign of 1646 was disastrous to the French arms. The Count de Harcourt, after his successes against Cantelmo, had remained in command of the army in Catalonia, but had been called from the career of victory which he had been pursuing by a conspiracy which broke out in Barcelona. He then proceeded to besiege Lerida, attempting to reduce it by famine. Cantelmo had died of disappointment and grief at the outcry raised against

him, Philip de Sylva was dead also, and the Marquis de Legañez had been recalled to the army in Catalonia. To him the Count de Harcourt had been opposed with extraordinary success in Italy, and he so thoroughly despised his enemy, that he took but few precautions against any attempts which he might make to interrupt him in the siege of Lerida. Although intelligence was repeatedly given him that Legañez intended to attack him in his lines, the Count would not believe that such was the case, and feeling sure that the Spanish general would not attempt to force on a battle with one who had so frequently conquered him, he shewed a want of caution and a rash confidence which Legañez did everything in his power to encourage.

Legañez, however, proved a more formidable enemy than the Count anticipated. Advancing by a rapid march upon the French army, he approached Lerida at midnight, and dividing his force into two corps, ordered the one to direct its efforts entirely to cut its way into Lerida, while the other attacked the Count in his lines. Both bodies were successful, and the French general, taken by surprise, was completely routed, leaving his baggage and artillery in the hands of the enemy.

This signal disaster caused the Count de Harcourt to be recalled; and in order to recover all that had been lost in Catalonia, the Prince de

Condé was appointed to command in that province, while a considerable part of the army of Flanders was ordered to proceed towards the frontiers of Spain to serve once more under his command. It had been represented to Condé, when this new post was offered to him, that it was but a stratagem of Mazarin to remove him to a distance from the French capital, and that in all probability he would find himself neglected by the court as soon as he was no longer present. Such indeed proved to be the case, for on his arrival at Barcelona, he found neither ammunition, provisions, nor artillery prepared, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the things necessary for pursuing the siege could be collected. The Catalonians themselves also, unacquainted with the Prince de Condé in any other manner than by report, seemed at first to despise the young commander sent to their support. He appeared amongst them dressed in black, as mourning for his father, and, giving him the name of the student from that circumstance, they paid very little attention to his wants or wishes. On the arrival of the different corps of troops, however, which were to be placed under his command, Condé caused his principal officers to dress themselves in the most splendid habits they could procure, and paraded them before the Catalonians, whose taste for display and decoration he well understood. A great increase of consideration was the consequence; and when the whole of the army had at length

arrived, he advanced towards Lerida, and once more laid siege to that place on the 14th of May. Within the walls of Lerida still commanded Don Antonio (or Don Gregorio\*) Brito, an old Portuguese officer in the service of Spain, who had defended Lerida against the Count de Harcourt. Condé, however, with the petulance of youth, despised the governor in his rough and old-fashioned garb, and nothing was heard through the gay army of France but laughter and bravado.

“The place,” says the historian of De Grammont, “was nothing, but Gregorio Brito was not a little. He was as brave as the Cid, as proud as all the Guzmans, and as gallant as the whole Abencerrages of Grenada. He suffered us to make the first approaches without showing the least sign of life; and the prince, proud of Rocroi and Nordlingen, in order to teaze the garrison and the governor, opened the trenches with his own regiment, at the head of which marched twenty-four violins, as if we had been at a wedding. Night came, and we all set about amusing ourselves as we best could. Our violins were full of tender airs, and good cheer reigned throughout. Many jests were thrown at the little governor and his Spanish ruff, both of which we fancied we should have in our hands within twenty-four hours.

“All this passed at the trenches, when we sud-

\* We find him called by these two names both by French and Spaniards.

denly heard a cry of bad augury from the rampart repeated twice or thrice, 'Alert to the wall,' which cry was followed by a discharge of cannon and musquetry, and the salvo by a sortie, which having swept our trench, drove us back fighting to our camp. Next morning Gregorio sent a present of iced fruit to our commander, begging him to excuse his not having violins to return his serenade, but assuring him, that if the music he had sent out the night before had proved agreeable, he would endeavour to keep it up as long as the prince did him the honour to remain before Lerida.'

It has been denied by many authors, that in opening the trenches to the sound of violins, the Prince de Condé was guilty of any kind of bravado; and Voltaire, whose wit often made his ignorance pass for information, declares that it was the custom in Spain at that time always to open the trenches before a fortified place with the same musical accompaniment. The account of Hamilton, however, and the message of Brito, would evidently show that no such custom existed, even were it not well-known that such was not the case. The words of a direct descendant of the Prince himself put the matter in the true light. "Some authors," says a later Prince de Condé, "assert that this (the use of violins on such occasions) was a sort of custom in Spain at that time; but it is doing no wrong to great men to acknowledge their errors.



A little too much presumption, without doubt, led astray for the moment a young prince, whom fortune had continually favoured previously; and even if the event of the siege had been more fortunate, the violins would always have been something too much in his history, as well as in the trenches."

The Governor of Lerida kept his word with Condé, and the nature of the soil, the gallantry of the defence, the knowledge that the place was supplied with every sort of store and munition, and the illness of a great part of his own troops, began to make even the Prince despair of success.

In the midst of these discouraging circumstances, however, there occurred an adventure which caused a great sensation in the army at the time, and affords a painful and awful picture both of the licentious depravity of the age and of the recklessness of human nature. The Chevalier de la Vallière, *maréchal de camp*, was on duty at the quarters of the *Maréchal de Grammont* on the 2nd of June, and invited to dine with him at the mouth of the trenches the well-known Bussy Rabutin, with Barbantane, Brétèche, and Jumeaux, all intimate friends, and the two former fellow-officers in a regiment of *gendarmerie*. They met some hours before the time appointed at the mouth of the trench, on the side of the Duke de Grammont's quarters, which trench opened through the walls of an old ruinous church-yard. Breakfast was served to them immediately; and, while they sat

at meat, a part of the prince's band played to them such military music as was then in fashion. At length, Barbantane, not knowing on what to spend the superfluity of his spirits, lifted off the stone cover of one of the tombs in the church-yard, and finding therein a corpse yet wrapped in the cerements of the grave, he and Brétèche took the body out, and, putting it between them, made it dance to the sound of the violins. . The rest of the party were horrified at the spectacle, and by remonstrances and reproaches induced their companions to replace the corpse in the grave. Dinner was shortly after served to the guests, and several hours were passed in carousing and revelry, and in singing the ribald songs of the French capital. After what Bussy himself acknowledges to have been "*une fort grande débauche*," the Marquis de la Trousse made his appearance, he being the person who was to relieve the Chevalier de la Vallière in the trenches for the following night. He now came to go the rounds with that officer, in order to see how far the works had proceeded, and what was to be done, and finding the party still at table, he bade the chevalier continue his repast, as he was in no hurry. La Vallière, however, who, though drunk, was not so drunk as to have forgotten his duty, started up to go with La Trousse immediately, bidding his friends go on with their revel, and telling them that he would be back immediately. But he was compelled to break his

word. La Trousse was one of those brave men who are just a degree below the bravest and affect to expose themselves without necessity. It was, thus, his habit to walk on the outside of the trenches rather than within them, forgetting that, if every man followed his example, there would be no use of trenches at all. La Vallière would not be behind his comrade in ~~daring~~; and, exposing themselves completely to the fire of the enemy, the chevalier was picked off by a musquet shot in the head within a minute after he had quitted his guests. Tidings were immediately brought to them of the event, but it had no effect whatsoever in decreasing their merriment, and they continued the revel as their deceased companion had told them, with the exception of Jumeaux, who quitted them as soon as he heard that La Vallière was killed, for the purpose of running to the Prince de Condé to ask for the government of Flix, which had been held by his dead friend. He himself, however, died a few weeks afterwards of one of the diseases of the country. Bussy Rabutin also was shortly after seized with a fever, which brought him to the brink of the grave; and the news of that hideous revel having spread abroad, the events were magnified by superstition and credulity: the body which had been dragged from the tomb was said to have been that of a saint; and the misfortunes which subsequently fell upon all the principal parties con-

cerned were attributed to the indignation of the grim guest whom they had forced to take a part in their debauch.

Such is the true account of the famous revel of La Vallière; and shortly after, the Prince de Condé, frustrated in all his efforts against Lerida, daily losing a number of his troops both by the vigorous exertions of the garrison and the unhealthiness of the climate, raised the siege on the 17th of June, and retired from before the walls of the fortress. He gained, however, some slight advantages in Catalonia, but was impeded by dissensions amongst his principal officers, which prevented him from doing anything in Spain worthy of his former renown. Towards the end of the year he received news from Paris which naturally disposed him to return as fast as possible to the French capital. The young King in the midst of sports and amusements had been taken violently ill, and his life was despaired of. The disease was the small-pox, which was at that time a pestilence little inferior in virulence to the malady which has received the name of *plague* as a distinction. There was every reason to believe, therefore, that it would spread through the royal family. In the event of the death both of Louis XIV. and his young brother, but one head would have remained between the Prince de Condé and the crown; and it was natural for him to hurry towards a spot where such great interests were

in agitation. Courier after courier from the court pressed his return with all speed; for Anne of Austria herself, apprehensive of ambitious movements on the part of the Duke of Orleans in case of the death of the young king, sought anxiously for the support of the house of Condé. But the prince, disdaining the slightest appearance of coveting a sceptre which could only descend to him by the death of many relations, proceeded on his journey towards Paris with slow steps, and paused for some time at Fontainebleau; while his mother clearly indicated to the queen the motives of her son's delay, and in indirect terms reproached the Duke of Orleans for the signs of ambitious eagerness which he had displayed during the illness of the king.

His return to the court was at length hailed with joy and satisfaction by all parties, except indeed by the faction of the Duke of Orleans, for that prince even at those times when he was compelled to co-operate with Condé, could not forget the jealousy of him which the greatness of his power and the greatness of his talents naturally excited. His presence indeed in the north, where he had always been so successful, was now very much needed; as Turenne, notwithstanding reiterated orders from Mazarin during 1647, had not been able to take the command in the Low Countries, and the arms of the Spaniards had conse-

quently acquired a superiority which they had not possessed for many years.

We must now turn to show what were the causes which prevented Turenne from executing the commands he had received in the beginning of 1647; and then take a brief review of the campaign of that year in the Low Countries. We left that great general on his march, at the head of his French and Weimarian troops, to reinforce the army of Flanders and take the command in that district. He had, nevertheless, many causes to believe that the troops of the late Duke of Weimar, although engaged in the service of France both by long attachment and positive agreements, would unwillingly change the scene of operations from the banks of the Rhine, where every individual was in the neighbourhood of his own country, to a remote district, where they would be at the mercy of French generals. At the same time, six months' arrears of pay were due to them; and Mazarin, after having promised them the pay of a month, had broken his engagement, and had left Turenne to satisfy them, as far as he could, by giving them good quarters and finding them abundant provisions.

Those quarters and provisions, however, had but rendered the Germans more unwilling to quit the country where they obtained such advantages; and General Rosen, whose errors had greatly

brought about the defeat of Mariendal, had never forgiven Turenne, imagining that Turenne would never forgive him. He had consequently done all in his power to irritate his fellow-countrymen against the French general; and after crossing the Rhine at Philipsburg, when the orders were given for passing the mountains of Saverne, the principal officers of the Weimarian troops presented themselves before Turenne and demanded immediate payment of their arrears. It was, of course, impossible for him to satisfy them; and having sent Rosen, whom he did not yet suspect, to repress the turbulence of the troops, he soon received a message from that officer, informing him, that he was forcibly detained by the Germans, and next day Turenne found that they had commenced their march, in order to recross the Rhine. He well knew that large sums had been offered to the Weimarian troops by the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, and he saw all the danger of suffering such a body of veteran soldiers not only to quit the service of France, but to go over to her adversaries. Under these circumstances, he pursued them with the greater part of his army, and overtook them just as they were crossing the Rhine, in great confusion, by means of boats they had obtained from Strasburg. Such was their condition that Turenne could have destroyed them had he thought fit so to do; but he was naturally anxious to preserve them in the service of France, as well

as to prevent them from joining the enemy. He now saw clearly that he had been betrayed by Rosen, but, after a short consultation with some of the other officers, he determined to promise the Weimarians not to take them into Flanders; and to suffer them, as a proof of his sincerity, to pass the Rhine, if they agreed, when that was done, not to go far from the banks of the river.

This arrangement being assented to on their part, he sent back the greater part of his own troops with orders to join the rest who were at Saverne, and then march with them into Flanders, while he with 3000 infantry and one regiment of cavalry followed the Germans across the Rhine. With them he remained a month endeavouring to gain the Weimarian officers, and succeeding with all except Rosen. The troops, however, encouraged in their revolt by that general, refused to obey their officers, chose chiefs amongst themselves, and once more put themselves in motion without orders. But Turenne, resolved not to abandon them while there was a chance of recovering his ascendancy, and followed them with nothing but his staff, leaving his own forces behind. He went at once to the quarters of Rosen, and, although at first some disposition was shown to oppose him, the firm promptitude with which he put himself at the head of the troops and assumed the supreme authority, prevented the chiefs of the Weimarian army from attempting any personal violence towards him. The soldiers fol-



lowed their own will, it is true, and directed their march in whatsoever way they thought fit; but Turenne—rejoicing to see that they took their way towards Baden and the Lower Palatinate, in which they would be surrounded by French garrisons, and not towards Bavaria, where they would have been welcomed by the enemies of France with open arms—still kept at their head, fixed the limits of the day's march, allotted the quarters of the different troops, and preserved the semblance of authority with so much dignity and firmness, that the very chiefs of the revolt felt intimidated in his presence.

Finding, at length, that nothing could be done with the Germans so long as Rosen was suffered to pursue his machinations uninterrupted, Turenne determined to arrest that officer even in the very midst of the mutinous troops. Having arrived at Etlingen, not very far from Philipsburg, the soldiers encamped in the neighbourhood, and the principal officers took up their quarters in the town. Turenne immediately sent privately to Philipsburg, with orders for the commandant of the garrison to despatch immediately a hundred musqueteers, so as to be at the gates of Etlingen by daybreak. At that hour Turenne himself caused the corps de garde at the gates to lay down their arms, and put the musqueteers from Philipsburg in possession of the place. He then proceeded to the quarters of Rosen with fifty of the French sol-

diers, and, arresting him on the spot, caused him to be conveyed a prisoner to Philipsburg. His next step was to send notice to the Weimarian army of the imprisonment of Rosen, with orders to the soldiery no longer to recognize any commands that officer had given. At these tidings a schism which had existed between the obedient and the disaffected of the Weimarian army at once broke forth: two entire regiments, with the officers of the whole army, down to the very corporals, declared at once in favour of Turenne, and put themselves under his command. A part of the other regiments joined him also; but a considerable body decamped with all speed, and made the best of their way towards the Main. Turenne followed them without loss of time at the head of their former companions, came up with them at Königshausen, charged them briskly in the rear, killed three hundred of their number, and took three hundred prisoners. Those who were thus captured were threatened with immediate death; but Turenne not unwillingly seized the opportunity of an appeal made to his good feeling by one of the oldest soldiers amongst the prisoners, in order to pardon the whole, and they were incorporated at once with the other regiments. The rest of the Weimarian army effected its escape, and being now reduced to the number of 900 or 1000 men, whose services were of no great importance to Bavaria or Austria, they enlisted in the service of the Swedish crown.

These events had occupied the greater part of the year; and it was not till the month of September that Turenne could enter the territory of Luxemburg. He there took some unimportant places; but the greatest advantage which his presence in that quarter gained for France, was the division of the forces of the Archduke Leopold, then commanding in the Low Countries, who was obliged to watch Turenne narrowly, lest he should be attacked in flank or rear while he was opposed to Rantzau and others in front.

The long delay which had occurred regarding the march of Turenne's forces, the impossibility of that general himself taking the command in the Low Countries, and the period which elapsed before the troops that he did send reached their destination, had caused very great inconveniences to the French army in Flanders, and that at the moment when Mazarin was the most anxious for complete and signal success in the north.

The presence of the King himself on the frontier, this being the first time he had ever travelled to any great distance from the neighbourhood of Paris, was of course an inducement to the troops to do their duty well; but at the same time it rendered the minister the more desirous of obtaining notable advantages over the enemy under the very eye of the monarch. No such advantages could be obtained by the small force which was assembled to oppose the Archduke by the Marshals Rantzau and

Gassion, especially as a degree of jealous enmity existed between them, the natural effect of which was to embarrass and enfeeble all their operations. Rantzau was brave and skilful, but is in general represented as a confirmed drunkard; and it is certain that on one occasion he suffered his army to be surprised and defeated, while its general was in a state of complete inebriety. Gassion was brave, skilful, and sober, but somewhat rash and intemperate in his enterprises and passions. The former, however, was favoured by Mazarin; the latter—who, amongst his other errors in the eyes of the court, was a Hugonot—was by no means in the good graces of the prime minister.

The Archduke opened the campaign by the siege of Armentieres, and the governor Du Plessis applied eagerly to the court of France for aid. Anne of Austria, with Mazarin, and the young King, had set out for Amiens in the beginning of May; but Mazarin, though undertaking the functions of all the principal officers of the crown, was nevertheless timid in using them; and before he would take any decided step to oppose the enemy, he besought the Duke of Orleans to join the rest of the court, and aid him with his support and advice. The Duke, however, delayed, and did not set out from Paris till the 28th of May; while Armentieres, after a vigorous resistance, was forced to surrender on the 31st of that month.

In the mean time, however, a body of four thou-

sand men which had been raised to reinforce the armies under Gassion and Rantzau, had marched forward with considerable supplies under the command of the Maréchal de Villeroy; and shortly after another detachment was led to swell the army of Flanders by La Ferté Sennetre. The forces of the Archduke, however, who was now assured of not being attacked by the Dutch, were still superior to those of the French generals, and he proceeded to take Commines and Lens. Marching on, he appeared in presence of the French army in the neighbourhood of Bethune; and it would seem that both Gassion and Rantzau were eager to engage him, but were prevented from so doing by the express orders of Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans, who commanded them on no account to risk a battle till Turenne arrived from the banks of the Rhine.

I have already shown the events which prevented that great general from obeying the repeated orders of the court to hasten to Flanders; and the Archduke, unobstructed on his march, advanced to Landrecy, and laid siege to that place. The importance of the city, and its proximity to Paris, caused great uneasiness; and it was determined to risk a battle to save it. The French army only amounted to sixteen thousand men; but, as it advanced, it was somewhat swelled by all the youth of the court, who eagerly solicited permission to take a part in the coming engagement. The Sambre was

passed on the 2nd of July, in presence of a corps of troops under General Bec, which was not strong enough to oppose the French marshals, and the army under their command marched on towards Landrecy. After cannonading the lines of the archduke, however, with but little effect, and remaining in sight of his camp a whole day, Rantzau and Gassion could not agree in regard to their plan of operations; and, as is ever the case when generals disagree, the cause of their country suffered from their private animosity. Although it was proposed to attack the lines of the archduke, and the troops were eager to do so, no such step was attempted; and after a fruitless display of ill-sustained resolution, the French army decamped, and left Landrecy to its fate.

The disagreement between Gassion and Rantzau appears now to have been so great that it became necessary for them to separate; and, each leading a corps under his individual command, the latter proceeded to attack the fort of La Kenoque, with Dixmude, Nicudam, and some other small places; but in the end was encountered by the Marquis of Caracena in a partial engagement, where the success on neither side was very apparent. In the mean while Landrecy surrendered to the Archduke, while Gassion hastened to lay siege to La Bassée, defeating a detachment of the Spanish army which endeavoured to throw provisions and reinforcements into the place. Having invested that fortress, Gas-

sion learned the surrender of Landrecy on the 16th of July; and becoming apprehensive that the whole army of the archduke would fall upon him under the walls of La Bassée, if he did not speedily make himself master thereof, he sent a messenger to inform the governor, that if it were not immediately surrendered he would order the storming parties to advance, threatening, at the same time, to spare neither women nor children should it be taken. The governor knew that he could not resist long, but hourly hoped that the archduke would appear, and he accordingly sent some officers to inform the French marshal that he would surrender in four hours if not relieved; but Gassion placed his watch upon the edge of the trench, and replied, that if the place were not surrendered within three-quarters of an hour, he would grant neither terms nor quarter to any one. The citizens were so much intimidated by this reply, knowing as they did that Gassion was a man to execute his threat, that they put an end to the governor's hesitation, and the keys were immediately carried to the French marshal.

The capture of this city was absolutely necessary to counterbalance, in some degree, the losses which France had sustained; but, nevertheless, Mazarin evinced but little gratitude towards Gassion, whom he regarded with no slight enmity, notwithstanding the great services which he had rendered to France. The cause of such persevering hatred was, as usual, a light word. The minister, we are told, on one

occasion sent directions to Gassion in regard to some of his military dispositions, which were so much opposed to every scientific rule, that Gassion threw down the letter with contempt and trod upon it. "The minister," he exclaimed, "will meddle with military matters, of which he knows nothing."

These words were, of course, repeated to Mazarin by some officious friend, and Gassion was never forgiven.

From La Bassée, Gassion hastened on to Lens, to which he laid siege also, and pushed forward the attack with vigour. It was defended gallantly; and in the course of the siege La Feuillade, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself, was shot in marching to the assault, and died exclaiming "Ah, what was I running after?"

But the greatest loss which France met with at the siege of Lens was the death of Gassion himself, who was wounded at the end of the month of September, and, after lingering for several days, died with the utmost firmness on the 5th of October, leaving no officer behind him more distinguished for courage, skill, and perseverance, than he had been through life. "In gaining a hamlet," says one of the French writers, "France lost a hero;" and it may be added, that the very lowest soldiers of his army shed tears on the grave of one who had risen from the same rank as themselves. Gassion was born at Pau in the Pyrenees, and was the son of a president in the parliament of that



town. His father intended to have educated him for the same profession as himself, but the disinclination of the youth to the study of the law was so great, that, taking his resolution with that prompt decision which characterized him through life, he absconded from his paternal mansion at fifteen years of age with not more than thirty sous in his pocket. Putting his shoes on the end of a stick, which he carried over his shoulder, he set out barefooted, in the manner of the peevantries of Béarn, in order to seek his fortune, and lived for some time upon the public as best he might. He at length met with a body of soldiers, and enlisted; and from that moment continued in the army, rising gradually without any interest to the highest rank in his profession. He never flattered, nor sought the favour of ministers; nor did he ever quit his religion, though as a Hugonot it might have proved a great stumbling-block in his way. Nevertheless, his merit had been discovered by Richelieu, who gave him his full support and esteem, and compared him, not without justice, to the famous Bertrand du Guesclin; adding, however, that Gassion was not so coarse as the Constable of Charles V.

Comminges was immediately sent from the court to supply the place of Gassion for the time; and Lens surrendered on the 3rd of October. But few other successes attended the French arms during the course of the campaign, though the two armies of Gassion and Rantzau were ultimately united

under the command of the latter. Dixmude was re-taken by the Spaniards in the month of November; and upon the whole the campaign in Flanders was as unpropitious to the arms of France, as that of Catalonia had proved. Nor did the languid contest carried on in Italy offer any military event, during that year, to compensate for the reverses in Spain and the Low Countries. Nice was taken by the Constable of Castile; and the only favourable occurrence from which France could derive an augury of future success in Italy was the revolt of Naples and the commotions in Sicily. Such was the state of events when Condé returned from Catalonia; and his coming was hailed with joy by all the court, although the Parisian populace had by this time become so exasperated against Mazarin, that every reverse which the royal arms met with was hailed as the misfortune of the minister; and even the failure of Condé himself, in Catalonia, became a subject of rejoicing to the Parisians, as well as of madrigals, epigrams, and satires.

During the winter and the early part of the spring of 1648, Condé remained in Paris, as we have elsewhere shown, taking a share in the struggles of the Fronde. The command of the armies in the Low Countries was again assigned to him, and early in May he set out, at the head of thirty thousand men, determined to lay siege to the large town of Ypres. The Archduke Leopold, with a com-

siderable force, watched all his movements; but Condé contrived to deceive him, and by a skilful march left the Spanish army behind him, and invested the city in form. The Archduke immediately followed, and made various attempts to relieve the place by attacking Condé in his quarters; but the prince was neither to be taken by surprise nor drawn away from his design, and his adversary was obliged to direct his efforts to gain some compensation for a loss which he saw was inevitable. The foolish intermeddling of Mazarin in military affairs soon gave him the opportunity he desired. Notwithstanding all the representations of the Prince de Condé, who was unwilling that any place possessed by France on the Flemish frontier should be weakened for the purpose of strengthening his army, Mazarin sent orders to the Count de Paluau, who since the death of Gassion had commanded in Courtray, to march with the greater part of his garrison for the purpose of reinforcing the prince beneath the walls of Ypres. No sooner did the Archduke hear of this false step than he marched to Courtray, which had been left totally incapable of resistance, and took a strong and well-fortified city in the middle of the day by a coup-démain.

After the capture of Courtray he returned to Ypres, and endeavoured to provoke Condé to battle; but the fire of the warrior was now subservient to his skill, and nothing which the arch-

duke could do induced him to fight till he found a fitting opportunity.

After endeavouring to give success to an ill-conceived scheme of Rantzau's upon Ostend, and having manœuvred for some time with great skill in order to drive the archduke out of Picardy, into which he had made an irruption, Condé was recalled to Paris by the difficulties of the court, and by the necessity of laying out some plan for enabling a large reinforcement of Weimarian troops, under the command of Erlach, to effect its junction with the army of Flanders. During his temporary absence the Archduke, marching through the country at his will, is said to have published a mock manifesto, offering a reward to any one who would show him the army of Condé, supposed to be lost. But the prince soon returned, and putting himself at the head of his troops, determined to risk a battle, more for the purpose of giving new vigour to the court, than from any probable advantages it might produce in the Low Countries.

The Archduke having approached the town of Lens in the beginning of August, laid siege to that place; and Condé, marching after him, came up a few hours before the town surrendered. On the evening of the 18th the prince had made all his dispositions for the battle, which he proposed to hazard on the following day; but the surrender of Lens at daybreak on the morning of the 19th gave

the Archduke advantages upon which the Spanish general did not fail to seize at once. He immediately changed his position, and, with the town on his right, his centre strengthened by some hamlets surrounded by hedges and ditches, and his left occupying a height of difficult access, he waited for the attack of Condé, not doubting that the natural impetuosity of the prince would induce him to commence the battle, even under circumstances so advantageous to his enemy.

In this estimate, however, of Condé's character Leopold was mistaken. Such indeed might have been the case some years before; but Condé had not only fought the battles of Freiburg and Nordlingen, which were enough to show him how small a grain more or less in one scale or the other of fortune's balance will make the difference between victory and defeat, but he had been repulsed from the walls of Lerida, had been frustrated in his most sanguine expectations, and had acquired the knowledge of reverse—perhaps the only thing which had been wanting to his qualities as a general. Instead of marching up inconsiderately to the strong position of the Spanish army, Condé, knowing that a defeat on the frontier of Picardy would lay open the whole of the north of France to the enemy, used every means to draw the adverse general out into the plain. He kept up a brisk cannonade upon the Spanish army; he caused parties of his cavalry to advance, to skirmish, and then to retreat

as if in disorder. But all these efforts were employed in vain, and at length Condé determined to commence a retreat, in the hope that the archduke would follow and afford a more favourable field of battle to the French. It is clearly shown that such was the object of Condé in retreating at all; and his having chosen to effect his retreat in the full daylight, would seem to prove that he hoped as well as expected that the archduke would at once attack him in his retreat. His forces amounted to only fourteen thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery; and shortly after day-break on the morning of the 20th of August he proceeded to execute one of the most difficult enterprises which perhaps any general ever undertook; namely, to retreat before a superior enemy, in open day, through a vast plain, and in such a manner as to be able to engage and conquer the adverse army if it ventured to oppose his progress. It would seem that Condé had himself reconnoitred the ground and determined upon the position in which he would halt and fight if attacked. The Marquis\* de Noirmontier commanded the rear-guard, and the Duke de Grammont the left wing of Condé's army; while Chatillon appeared at the head of the gendarmerie, and Erlach led the Weimarian† cavalry, which had joined the prince some short time before.

No sooner did the forces of France begin to retreat, than the cavalry of Lorraine, commanded by

General Bec, was seen in motion, and in a moment after, the rear-guard was charged with such vigour as to be driven in upon the rest of the army in confusion and disarray. Condé perceived the success of his plan; but the critical moment was now arrived, and while he commanded the main body to hasten forward and form upon an eminence which he had already marked for that purpose, he ordered Chatillon at the head of the gendarmerie to support the rear-guard under Noirmontier. Chatillon charged gallantly at the head of his troops, and drove back Bec and the cavalry of Lorraine fighting hand to hand for several hundred yards. Bec, however, rallied his men, returned to the charge, and in his turn forced back the gendarmerie at the point of the sword. Condé then put himself at the head of the troops already engaged, and knowing the importance of giving the rest of the army time to form on the slope, led them back to renew the struggle with Bec.

One of those panics, however, which occasionally seize the most veteran troops, took possession of Condé's cavalry as he was leading them to the charge, and every squadron turned and fled towards the main body. All for a moment was disarray and confusion, and the day seemed lost to France. So judged the Archduke; and hastening down from the heights he had before occupied, he came forward as if to certain victory. Condé, however, had rallied the fugitives at the foot of the slope he

had chosen as his position, and kept the enemy at bay. Bec halted to give the archduke time to come up, and the French general seized the important moment to restore complete order and bring forward fresh troops to all those points where he intended to make the greatest efforts. A momentary interval was all that Condé required: that interval was given him by the halt made by Bec to enable the archduke to come up, and before the enemy had time to profit by the first advantages they had gained, Condé had time to restore order amongst his forces, and to prepare once more to lead them on to victory. A few brief words, spoken with that air of confidence which is sure to communicate to those who see it the feeling which it expresses, soon gave back courage and determination to his troops, and putting himself at the head of the first line of the right wing, Condé prepared to become the assailant instead of the assailed, and to attack the archduke, whom he had now induced to quit his strong position and descend into the plain.

A brisk cannonade announced to the Spanish army that the French were no longer in retreat, and that there was no choice left but immediate battle. Condé's artillery was extremely well served, and, planted on the heights, produced a great effect amongst the advancing columns of the Spaniards. As soon as that effect was fully visible, Condé himself charged at the head of the cavalry of the first line, and encountered the fresh body of horse com-



ing up under the archduke. Both great generals felt that their fame depended upon their exertions during that day, and both displayed valour and skill sufficient to have won the victory. The Archduke exposed himself in the thickest of the fight, leading on, encouraging his men, remedying every error he saw committed, rallying his troops wherever they appeared to be shaken. Condé made equal efforts to break the squadrons opposed to him; he also was in every part of the field, he also fought hand to hand like a common soldier; but he never forgot in the fiercest of the struggle the duties of the great general, and, seeing that as yet he had produced no impression upon the Spanish line, although a number of his troopers had fallen around him and two of his pages had been killed by his side, he despatched orders to Count d'Erlach to charge at the head of the Weimarian horse, while he kept the enemy engaged till they arrived. This was effected so vigorously by the German cavalry, that the troops of the Archduke gave way at once. In vain he endeavoured to rally them, in vain he attempted to restore any degree of order—all was confusion and disarray, and Condé now displaying all that fire and impetuosity which he had so firmly restrained till the chosen moment came, gave the cavalry of Spain and Lorraine not a moment to recover from the panic and disorder into which they had been thrown.

The Archduke, borne along by the rest, quitted

the field, flying towards Douai, endeavouring as far as possible to repel the repeated charges of the French and Weimarian troops, and give some sort of order to the retreat. On the left wing, the Duke de Grammont had been as successful as Condé upon the right; he had driven all before him after a severe struggle, and pushing the enemy in the same direction which Condé was pursuing, the two generals met on the high road to Douai, and cast themselves into each other's arms in joy for their great victory. An immense body, however, of Spanish infantry still occupied the centre of the field, and with that serried rank for which they were famous, displayed a front on every side impenetrable to all the efforts of their enemies.

The events which took place at the end of the celebrated day of Rocroi were now almost acted over again. The left wing of the Spanish army being totally routed, Condé turned to complete the defeat of his adversaries, which was still held in doubt by the vigorous resistance of that mass of infantry. The French guards had charged the Spanish centre, and for a moment gained some slight success; but, carried on by their ardour, they had suffered themselves to be surrounded, and would have been annihilated, had it not been for the arrival of Condé at the head of the gendarmerie. The more closely, however, the Spaniards found themselves surrounded, the more closely did they press together; all intervals disappeared, man

stood by man, and regiment by regiment, till the four or five thousand men of which that body of infantry was composed formed but a single battalion, presenting a firm face on every side. After a number of efforts to break this powerful phalanx, Condé ordered Desroches to make a sudden charge at the head of his own guards. It was effected with success; one of the fronts of the Spanish infantry was broken and thrown into confusion. No sooner was this known through the rest of the body, than, left without any support from the cavalry, and depending solely for success upon their own firm array, the Spanish infantry threw down their arms and surrendered, leaving the victory of Lens as complete as any that Condé had yet achieved. That prince caused the firing immediately to cease, and despatched the Duke de Chatillon, who had highly distinguished himself in the battle, to bear the tidings of his success to the queen regent.

The army of the Archduke may be said to have been destroyed. In killed, wounded and taken, the Spaniards lost from eight to ten thousand men,\* eight hundred officers, one hundred and twenty pair of colours, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and the whole of the baggage of the army. Even before the battle was concluded, Condé had given orders for attacking Lens, while he proceeded in person

\* The Spaniards say eight thousand men; and probably the French account is a little exaggerated.

to reduce the Spanish infantry; and as soon as the victory was complete, he directed Rantzau to lay siege to the strong town of Furnes. The garrison, however, made a vigorous resistance; Rantzau did not press the siege so firmly as Condé had expected, and the prince himself marched to the place to conduct the farther operations against it with increased activity. Scarcely had he arrived there, when, in examining the works, he received a musket-shot in the loins, which in all probability would have proved fatal had it not been for the thick coat of buff leather which he wore, and which was doubled in that part. His wound consequently was very slight, and he was soon able, after the surrender of Furnes, to hasten towards Paris, in compliance with the reiterated entreaties of the Queen and Mazarin, who were reduced to a state of the most imminent danger by events which we shall proceed to notice as soon as we have given some account of the military movements which had taken place during 1648 in other parts of Europe.

In Italy some small advantages had been gained by the French, in an action between the Marquis of Caracena near Cremona, and the French general Du Plessis Praslin; but though the latter forced the entrenchments of Caracena, he was obliged to abandon his attempt upon Cremona, as the Spaniards still kept the field and threw constant supplies into the place. Although the war also languished in Catalonia, yet Marshal Schonberg, who

commanded in that province, laid siege to the strong town of Tortosa, and took it after a vigorous resistance.

Some of the most important efforts of the whole war, however, took place in Germany, under the command of Turenne, whom we left embarrassed by the insubordination of the Weimarian troops. Scarcely was the Duke of Bavaria freed from the presence of the French and Weimarian forces, and had learned the mutiny which had broken out amongst the latter, than he conceived that he might easily break the truce with Sweden, without incurring a fresh warfare with France. He accordingly raised considerable forces, and joined his army to that of the Emperor. The united powers of Austria and Bavaria were now able to resume the offensive against Sweden; and Melander, who commanded the allied troops, drove back Wrangel into the duchy of Brunswick, and took almost all the places which the French and Swedes had acquired during the former campaign. At the same time reports were industriously spread throughout Germany that an understanding existed between France, Bavaria, and Austria, which were countenanced by the more active measures adopted by the plenipotentiaries at Munster about this period; and the Queen of Sweden demanded loudly that France should give the lie to such reports, by punishing the Duke of Bavaria for his infraction of the treaty of Ulm.

Turenne was in consequence ordered immediately to march back to the Rhine; and leaving the Luxemburg, he advanced into Hesse Darmstadt, obliging the Spanish and Imperial troops to raise the siege of Worms as he went. He then halted for some time, waiting for express orders from the court; but having received them, he made a formal declaration of war against the Duke of Bavaria; and marched at once to join Wrangel, while the Imperial troops retreated before him and took refuge under the cannon of Ingoldstadt. He easily effected his junction with the Swedish forces at Gelenhausen; but differences speedily sprang up between him and Wrangel, who sought but to secure the greatest advantages to Sweden, and laboured hard, if we may believe the French accounts, to seduce the whole of the Weimarian troops from the service of his ally.

The Bavarian generals now endeavoured to persuade Turenne to march into Bohemia; but the French commander, perceiving their object, refused to leave such an extent of country between himself and his supplies, and, notwithstanding every artifice, remained firm in his determination. The Swedes, in order to alarm him, even affected to quit him and to march towards the higher palatinate; but it was not easy to frighten Turenne, and after having suffered them to proceed upon their course for two or three days without showing the slightest intention of joining them, he re-

ceived notice that they were anxious to re-unite their army to his, and Turenne of course received them with open arms.

Having suffered the troops to refresh themselves for some short time, Turenne proposed to march towards the Imperial army and attack it; and proceeding to Lavingen, the French and Swedes there passed the Danube, and advanced upon Augsburg. Melander, the adverse general, hearing of their approach, immediately retreated before them; and Turenne and Wrangel, leaving their cannon and their infantry to follow, pursued with all speed at the head of the cavalry, and soon came up with the rear-guard of the Imperial army, commanded by Montecuculi. Turenne immediately charged at the head of the Weimarian cavalry, and drove the Imperialists in confusion before him through a wood and into a plain beyond.

Melander, who had been with the Imperial advanced guard on the other side of the plain, which was there also terminated by a large wood, returned to support his rear-guard with a large body of cavalry, leaving his infantry concealed in the wood; and the battle was renewed in the plain with redoubled fury. After a long and severe contest, however, Melander was killed at the head of his troops, and the Imperial and Bavarian cavalry, thrown into disorder, were driven across the plain into the other wood. Turenne followed fiercely; but the moment his troops quitted the

plain, a tremendous fire was opened upon him from amongst the trees by the infantry, which lined the wood, and his squadrons were driven back in confusion. Wrangel however had, at the same time, taken a circuitous pass to another part of the wood, and took the Imperial infantry in flank. Another severe engagement took place, which ended in the Imperialists being once more driven out of the forest, with the loss of all their cannon and baggage. Prince Ulrick Wurtemberg, however, had been sent forward from the Imperial army to take possession of the only ford across a small river which lay between the field of battle and Augsburg. The fugitive bodies of the Imperial army thus passed in safety, and when Turenne arrived at the ford he found it guarded by six or seven squadrons of cavalry, and three battalions of infantry, strongly entrenched on the other side of the river. The French and Swedish infantry were far behind; but Turenne caused the cannon which had been taken in the wood to be pointed against the division of Prince Ulrick, and opened a tremendous fire upon it, but without the effect he anticipated. That prince showed a determination to die with all his men sooner than abandon the ford before the retreat of the Imperial army was secured. One half of his troops fell around him; but he remained firmly at the head of those which remained till night closed that day of carnage, though he himself had the extraordinary number of five horses



killed under him. Such is the famous running fight of Zusmarhausen, and the Imperial army was led by Montecuculi to the walls of Augsburg; but its salvation was undoubtedly effected by the heroic resolution of Ulrick of Wurtemberg.

After these engagements, which took place on the 17th of May 1748, Konigsmark was detached from the Swedish and French army with a considerable corps of troops to penetrate into Bohemia; while Turenne and Wrangel marched towards Bavaria, and traversing the Lech, advanced, without suffering themselves to be diverted by any object till they reached the banks of the Iser, where they made themselves masters of the immense magazine that had been formed at Freising. Terror and consternation spread before them; the Duke of Bavaria quitted his capital at the age of seventy-eight, and fled to Saltzburg, while his army, which even when joined with that of the Imperialists comprised only three thousand infantry, was totally unable to oppose the French, who, from Freising and Landshut, pushed their parties to the banks of the Inn and swept the whole country of provisions.

The bridges at Freising, Landshut, and other places, had been destroyed by the Bavarians in their retreat; but Turenne occupied himself eagerly in preparing afresh the means of passing the Iser, and on the 12th of June he traversed that river by two bridges which he had constructed, and immediately attacked the town of Muldorf, which he

captured. Remaining fifteen days at Muldorf, he attempted several times to pass the Inn, but found it impossible on account of the rapidity of the river and the want of either a bridge or boats.

In the mean while the Duke of Bavaria had written vehement letters of remonstrance to the emperor, beseeching him to send troops to his aid ; and Picolomini had been recalled in all haste from Flanders. It required some time, of course, for that great general to reach the Bavarian territory : but he still advanced, gaining reinforcements on his march, till at length he reached the banks of the Danube, and crossed it at Passau, followed by an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. He then approached the town of Landshut, and encamped there during a whole month, watching the proceedings of Turenne and Wrangel. A variety of skirmishes took place, in one of which Prince Ulrick of Wurtemberg was taken by the French. Turenne continued to sweep the country of its produce, and on one occasion approached to the very gates of Munich itself : but it would seem that he did not venture to undertake any great effort in presence of the large force of Picolomini, which remained still very formidable, although that general had been obliged to detach a considerable corps to Bohemia to keep in check Konigsmark, who was ravaging that country.

Forage and provisions beginning to grow scanty, and the winter approaching, Turenne and Wrangel

quitted the banks of the Iser in the beginning of October, passed the Lech at Landsberg, and the Danube at Donauwerth, and brought their troops into safe and abundant quarters at Lavingen.

While laying out his plans for the succeeding campaign, a courier from the Count de Servien reached the head-quarters of the French general, announcing to him that a treaty of peace had been signed at Munster on the 24th of October, and that by a preliminary convention a suspension of arms was granted to all parties till the treaties were ratified in due form. In this arrangement both France and Sweden were comprised, and consequently the armies of those two countries were set free to turn their efforts in other directions. Spain having made a separate peace with Holland, refused to take part in the pacification of Munster, and prepared to pursue the war against France unsupported by the empire, but no longer opposed by the Dutch. The contest between the two countries which remained at war, would in all probability have terminated very soon, had no internal dissensions diminished the power of France; but Turenne and Condé, and all the great generals and the veteran soldiers who had been nourished by a long and sanguinary struggle, were now destined to turn their swords against each other, and destroy the prospects of their native land by intestine strife.

## CHAPTER IV.

**Internal affairs.**—Fair days of the Regency.—Anecdotes of the Infancy of Louis XIV.—Conduct of Mazarin.—The enemies he makes.—Character of De Retz.—Preparation for the Civil War.—Finance.—Emery.—The Toisé.—The Tariff.—The *Chambre de Domain*.—Opposition of the Parliament.—Illness of the King.—Steps of the Parliament.—The *Patte-lette*.—The Decree of Union.—The Court yields.—Declaration of the King.—Rise of the *Fronde*.—Views and situation of Mazarin.—Escape of the Duke de Beaufort.—State of popular feeling throughout France.

WHILE Condé and Turenne were carrying the arms of France into Germany and Flanders, raising the power of their own country, and depressing her enemies, the queen-regent and her minister enjoyed for several years an interval of tranquillity and success; and Louis XIV. gradually advanced from infancy to boyhood, increasing in corporeal vigour, though but little cultivated in mind. During these fair days of the regency little occurred to disturb Anne of Austria; and all who surrounded her reaped the benefit of that state of mind which is generally produced by the even current of prosperity. So placable, indeed, had she become from the very first days of the regency, that one of

the witty courtiers of the day remarked, that the whole French language was reduced to five little words, "The queen is so good!" Her struggle with the Importants had, it is true, soured her a little; and the dogged and persevering animosity with which her friends of former days pursued their purposes against Mazarin, still continued to irritate her from time to time, as their stupidity well might, in attempting by reproaches and sarcasms to shake the hold of the favourite upon the regard of the queen.

• Anne of Austria, thoroughly convinced that jealousy had full as great a share as honesty in the rude representations they thought fit to make her, continued to uphold Mazarin against their efforts, and to display but the more distaste daily towards those who thus imprudently urged her. At the head of these was Madame de Hautefort, who, having shown in former days a stern and resolute spirit against the enemies of the queen, thought that she had now every right to exert the same against her favourites; and La Porte himself, though a high admirer of that lady's character, suffers it to be apparent that she assumed a tone towards her mistress which few women would have ventured to use towards one even of equal rank. By this conduct she succeeded so completely in turning the former affection of Anne of Austria into gall and bitterness, that the queen eventually entertained suspicions that Madame de Hautefort indulged the same

caustic humour with which she assailed her predilection for Mazarin to her face, in conversation with other persons when she was absent.

This state of suspended hostility between the queen and her former friend was brought to an open rupture by one of those trifles which often cause great events. Having found Madame de Hautefort in her cabinet, with Monsieur de Gabouy and La Porte, warming themselves by the fire, she perceived that upon her entrance they ceased suddenly from a fit of laughter. The jest which had occasioned it would assuredly seem not to have been of a very delicate nature; but Anne of Austria wrongly suspected that it had been levelled at her and Mazarin; and, on Madame de Hautefort applying for some favour the next day, the queen refused her in a tone which brought on farther words, and the quarrel was ultimately carried to such a high point that Madame de Hautefort received an immediate order to retire from the court, where she was never treated afterwards with any degree of complaisance.

The fall of one declared enemy was, of course, in no degree unpleasant to Mazarin; for, although long before the destruction of the cabal of the Importants, his favour with Anne of Austria was undoubtedly very high, yet it was now far more openly displayed; and both he himself and the queen might well fear that the parliament and the great nobles of France would very unwillingly see the

whole power of the state entrusted to the hands of a foreigner.

We are told, indeed, by De Retz, that after the queen had become ashamed of the ministry of Potier, bishop of Beauvais, she directed the turbulent young abbé to offer the post of minister to his own father, the Count de Joigni, who by this time had determined upon retiring from public life, and had shut himself up in one of the cells of the priests of the Oratory. Whether we can perfectly depend upon De Retz in regard to this statement, or not, may be doubtful; but, certainly, if ever she did offer the important post of minister to the Count de Joigni, it was her intention but to place him as a screen between Mazarin and the people, as had been the case with the Bishop of Beauvais in the latter part of his administration.

Neither the populace, the council, the parliament, nor the nobles, however, made any opposition to the elevation of Mazarin; for the arrest of the Duke of Beaufort, and the putting down at once the faction of the Importants, were acts so dazzling, that the people attributed real power as well as skill to Mazarin; whereas it was the weakness of his adversaries, more than his own strength, which assured him success on that occasion.

It is, perhaps, amongst the greatest arts of policy to choose well the opportunities for exercising vigour; for the popular mind almost always judges of us rather by the degree of our success, than by

the degree of difficulty encountered in obtaining it. Secure, then, and at ease in the ministry, Mazarin devoted himself to win golden opinions by the unostentatious humbleness of his appearance, by his easy familiarity of access, and by the exertion of all those popular and pleasing talents with which he was so abundantly supplied.

The queen also did the same: taxes were taken off; favours were bestowed on all hands; every thing that any one asked was granted, if it could be granted; and "The queen is so good!" was echoed from mouth to mouth throughout the city. The famous Abbé de Retz, though stained with half a dozen conspiracies, received the appointment of titular Archbishop of Corinth, with the more solid benefit of the coadjutorship to the archbishopric of Paris; while he and Mazarin, as if feeling that they would one day be engaged in a struggle mutually to destroy each other, which it would be well to put off as long as possible, displayed the greatest civility and kindness in all their communications; and he, who ere long was to levy war against Anne of Austria, and cause a price to be offered for the cardinal's head, dined every week with the queen's favourite and returned all his civilities in kind.

At the time of the arrest of the Duke de Beaufort, Louis XIV. was just upon the eve of accomplishing his fifth year; and, under the guardianship of his mother, had three subordinate grades of



directors. Mazarin was superintendent of his education, the Marquis de Villeroy his governor, and the famous Perefixe, Abbé de Beaumont and historian of Henry IV, his preceptor.

In the quarrels between Anne of Austria and Madame de Hautefort, her *porte-manteau*, La Porte, had taken so direct a share, and his remonstrances in regard to Mazarin had been, according to his own account, so harsh, that he himself seems to have been astonished that he also was not dismissed from the court. On the contrary, however, Mazarin, though acquainted with his opposition, allowed him to remain; and Anne of Austria, in gratitude for his former sufferings in her cause, appointed him first valet-de-chambre to the young king. We thus have gained some curious information regarding the early life of Louis XIV, which, when animosity towards Mazarin does not bias the historian, may, it is admitted, be fully depended upon.

At the age of seven years, the princes of the royal family were, according to the old chivalrous custom, withdrawn from the hands of women, and placed under the direction of men; and at the usual period the governor, the preceptor, and the valets-de-chambre entered upon the discharge of their various offices. At first the young monarch found the change disagreeable, and seemed surprised to find that La Porte was to sleep in his chamber; he was more annoyed still on discovering that his new companion could not tell him stories

to send him to sleep as his female attendants had been in the habit of doing, and poor La Porte was equally embarrassed. He applied however to the queen for permission to read to the young monarch till sleep fell upon him; and, having obtained her consent, he applied to Perefixe to give him such a book as he thought proper for the purpose he proposed. The preceptor put into his hands the History of France, by Mezerai, from which La Porte continued to read to him for some time every night. At first, in order to gain the young king's attention, he affected the tone of one telling a story; but Louis soon began to take an interest in the history of his predecessors, to apply the tale to himself, and became extremely angry if any one reproached him with being a second Louis the Slothful. It appears, however, that this course of instruction, the best perhaps which by any chance could have been given to a youthful monarch, was by no means palatable to Mazarin, who saw in the developement of the king's powers of mind, and in the rising up of a right ambition within him, the overthrow or diminution, at some future time, of his own authority. Amongst many proofs of this fact, we are told that, one day, at Fontainebleau, after the king had gone to bed, the cardinal passed through his chamber in order to avoid the crowd in the other apartments. La Porte was reading by the king's bed-side at the time; but, the moment that Louis saw the minister

enter, he shut his eyes and pretended to be asleep. Mazarin paused for a moment, and asked La Porte what he had been reading; on which the attendant replied, that it was the History of France which he read nightly to the king, who could not go to sleep without having some story told to him. The minister made no reply, but turned away sharply, and said to those about him, when he reached his own apartments, that La Porte chose to play the governor of the king and teach him history.

La Porte, however, was not to be deterred from what he considered his duty, and proceeded in the same course. In other respects also he assures us that he endeavoured to raise and uphold the character of the king, by correcting at once in infancy all those little errors which, if suffered to go on into youth, become great faults, and often in manhood end in vices or crimes; and having remarked that Louis in all his little games chose to play the personage of the lackey, he one day in the midst of their sport put on his hat before the monarch, and sat down in his chair.

It would appear that the feeling which led the young king to choose the valet for his favourite personage, was by no means humility, and he became so angry with La Porte for sitting down in his seat with his hat on, that he ran in haste to the queen-regent to complain of his servant's insolence. La Porte was called, and the queen de-

manded with a smile, why he sat down before the king and remained covered in his presence. La Porte replied, that in all his games the king would take the character of the valet, and that, when his majesty acted the servant's part, it was but reasonable the servant should act the king's. The queen was struck, and severely reproached her son for lowness of taste. It is not improbable that this very incident guarded Louis against that shy pride of which perhaps his choice of the valet's part was a trait, which was certainly one of the great vices of his father, Louis XIII, and of which he himself gave such indications during his youth as to induce the courtiers to believe that he would always be governed by favourites or ministers.

The enmity of La Porte towards Mazarin is so evident throughout his memoirs, that we could not justly receive his accounts of the impediments which the cardinal threw in the way of every effort to improve the king's mind, unless they were confirmed by the general testimony of all the writers of the time. Such however is the case, and many parts of the monarch's after-life confirm but too strongly such statements as the following: "As the king grew up," says La Porte, "the care which they took of his education increased, and spies were placed about his person, not indeed out of fear that he should be amused with evil things, but out of fear that he should be inspired with good sentiments; for in those days the greatest crime of

which, a man could render himself culpable was to make the king understand that in justice he was no farther the master than inasmuch as he rendered himself worthy of being so. Good books were seen with as much suspicion in his cabinet as good people, and the beautiful Royal Catechism of Monsieur Godeau was no sooner there than it disappeared without any one knowing what had become of it." La Porte, however, does justice to Prefixe, who exerted himself, he declares, to execute his task of preceptor with zeal and fidelity; but the other persons who were about the young monarch, with the exception of Dumont, one of the sub-governors, laboured hard, it would appear, to make Louis forget as fast as possible the good instructions of his preceptor.

When the power indeed of Mazarin was fully established, he did not scruple openly to discountenance the efforts of Prefixe to form the mind of his pupil for the great task he was destined to execute; and the preceptor having one day been tempted to apply to the minister, as superintendent of the young king's education, begging him to remonstrate with him on his want of application, and adding that it was to be feared such a habit would in after years have its effect in the greater affairs of state, Mazarin replied, "Do not trouble yourself! Rely upon me, he will only know too much; for, when he comes to the council, he asks

me a hundred questions in regard to the matter in debate."

The old *Maréchal de Villeroy*, his governor, gave the cardinal no apprehensions in regard to the improvement which Louis might make under his immediate instructions; for his complaisance towards the infant king was so profound that he took care to contradict him in nothing, sometimes approving the remonstrances made by others, but never venturing to lecture his royal charge himself. Louis was not blind to his sycophancy, often laughing at it openly, and remarking that, when he spoke to his governor, the reply was always "Yes, sire!" even before it was possible for Villeroy to know what he was about to say. Nevertheless, the feelings which the conduct of Villeroy inspired were very different from those which Louis conceived towards Mazarin. Though he certainly, in no degree, respected his governor, he showed through life much attachment both to Villeroy and to his family. To Mazarin he might feel grateful as to a minister, and his talents and abilities he might admire and value; but there can be little doubt that he felt no personal liking towards the man.

Besides the fact which we have already mentioned, of his shutting his eyes and affecting to be asleep when the cardinal entered his chamber, various traits of his dislike for Mazarin are recorded; and

all who were in any way connected with that minister seemed more or less the objects of his aversion during his early years.

Mancini, Mazarin's nephew, who had been placed with him by his uncle, was an object of extraordinary dislike to the young monarch: but a trait of resolution and firmness on the part of the infant king in not betraying one of his attendants, is worthy of particular remark, as it not only displays the first signs of peculiar qualities in his own character, which were afterwards apparent, but contrasts him strongly with his father, and with his uncle the Duke of Orleans, both of whom, though in different degrees, were guilty of yielding the interests of their dearest friends to any one who overawed them.

One day, having seen Mazarin pass along the terrace at Compiègne with an almost royal suite, Louis exclaimed, sufficiently loud for Le Plessis, one of the cardinal's creatures, to hear, "Look at the Grand Turk going along!" Le Plessis informed the cardinal, and the cardinal told the queen, who, feeling quite sure that the nick-name which Louis had bestowed upon Mazarin had been suggested by some one else, insisted upon her son informing her who it was that had first applied that term to the minister. The king however would not tell, and neither the anger nor the persuasions of his mother would induce him to confess: he had recourse to every little childish evasion, sometimes saying it was one personage of a fairy tale, sometimes an-

other, but never naming any one about the court; and, though all unused to see his mother angry, he held firm to the last. Neither did he fear on various occasions to show his childish aversion for Mazarin, and, if we may believe La Porte, he more than once made use of expressions, which, though couched in childish terms, displayed almost more than childish acuteness in regard to the pomp and authority which Mazarin gradually assumed. The candid confession of La Porte, indeed, that he did his best to keep up these feelings in the mind of the young king, gives an air of probability to the rest of his account.

Although surrounded by officers and attendants, and accompanied by a minister who now displayed all the magnificence and luxury of an eastern potentate, Louis himself, either from the negligence of Mazarin, or from calculations on the part of that minister, the secret of which we do not know, was kept in a state of penury to which few of the sons of his nobility were exposed. The sheets upon his bed, we are told, were often in his youth so worn by age, that his feet passed through them in every part; and for three years he was suffered to wear, winter and summer, the same dressing-gown, lined with the fur called miniver, which, in the end, only came half way down his leg. His carriages were so old, and so worn, that the large leathern coverings over the doors were quite torn away, and when their state was one day pointed out to him he reddened with



anger. He did not fail at night to complain both to the queen and Mazarin ; and, though still a boy, spoke in such strong terms as to compel them to order immediately five new carriages to be prepared for his use.

Voltaire declares that he only showed, during his youth, one trait by which the most far-seeing could have anticipated the resolution and firmness which he afterwards displayed ; but it appears to me that, even in regard to his infancy, there are well-authenticated anecdotes enough to show that his character was formed very early, and that whatever means were taken to master and subdue it could only be effectual for a time.

The resolution which he displayed on various occasions, and which was so strongly contrasted with the character of his father and of his uncle, was probably derived from his mother, Anne of Austria, in whom it amounted to obstinacy. In Louis, it was tempered both by the more yielding character of his father, and by the circumstances under which he was educated : but, nevertheless, from the period of his refusal to reveal the person who had applied to Mazarin a contemptuous epithet, we trace the same spirit throughout his whole life, breaking out during his infancy and youth in occasional acts of determination, both in opposition to his own feelings and to the influence of others ; during his manhood in the pursuit of fixed purposes, in firm adherence to those whom he esteemed, and in utter

disregard' of all interested attempts to shake them in his favour ; and during his age in the firm equanimity with which he struggled with difficulties, dangers, and reverses, and maintained with generous pertinacity his attachment to the fallen and unfortunate house of Stuart.

In the mean time, while the course of Louis's early years passed in the manner which we have attempted to show, Mazarin, during the fair days of the regency, was gradually putting forth the grasping and the ambitious character which he had successfully concealed in his ascent to power. It is far more easy to veil man's native disposition in a gradual rise, than when risen. In the one, we conceal our passions and our purposes, our tastes and our designs, with a view to obtain their gratification. When risen, the moment seems come to enjoy the object of concealment accomplished : and it is hard for the mind of man to believe that that which is gained by deceit, generally requires the same deceit to retain it. Thus we have in ourselves an enemy who betrays us ; but even were not that the case, and could the ambitious or the ostentatious man be convinced that it was as necessary to hide his ambition and to veil his ostentation when risen as in rising, he would still, in all probability, be discovered : for although the eyes of rivals in the paths of fame and emolument, favour and power, are always sharp-sighted for our defects, and their tongues eager to expose those faults which their

penetration has discovered or their malignity invented, yet, when we have left them all behind, and stand on high, apparently above their reach, we are in fact but elevated to give them the better opportunity of demonstrating our failings, where Envy is sure to increase our enemies, where Detraction has a fair aim for every missile she chooses to cast against us, where the eyes of all men can scan us minutely with those magnifying-glasses which Jealousy and Malice are always prompt to supply for the purpose of displaying the follies and weaknesses of others.

Calmly and gradually Mazarin had engrossed all the power of the state, and he now sought to enjoy at ease the authority he had acquired and the wealth which he had at his command. His suite was increased, his manner of living became more sumptuous, he grew difficult of access, and less disposed to grant favours to those who asked them than in the times when they might be considered as the purchase-money of the post at which he aimed. The cabal of the Importants had afforded him an excuse for being careful of his person, and as early as the beginning of 1644, he employed the celebrated Fabert to organise a guard for his service. At the same time, apparently considering the administration of France as a mine of wealth of which he had acquired full and complete possession, he sent for his nephews and nieces from their native land, to share in the good things whereof

he had the sole disposition. Mazarin, nevertheless, retained for a considerable time not only the influence that he had at first acquired, but the good will of the parliament and of the people; and enjoyed at once the fruits of Richelieu's vigorous administration, and of the people's satisfaction at being delivered therefrom. "The happiness of individuals," says a graphic writer of that day, "seemed fully assured by the public prosperity. The perfect union of the royal family secured internal repose. The battle of Rocroi had annihilated the infantry of Spain for centuries; the cavalry of the Empire could no longer stand before the Weimarians. One saw upon the steps of the throne whence the sharp and redoubtable Richelieu had thundered at, rather than governed human beings, a gentle and benign successor, who had no decided will, who was in despair that his dignity as a cardinal did not permit him to humble himself as much as he could have wished before all the world, and who passed through the streets with but two little lackeys behind his carriage."

Such had been Mazarin's conduct at first, and the influence thus acquired was prolonged rather than shaken by the arrest of the Duke of Beaufort; for that act so strongly contrasted Mazarin's moderation with his power, that, to use the words of De Retz, "people felt obliged to the minister for not putting some one in prison every week, and attributed to the gentleness of his nature the want of

opportunities of doing evil. It must be allowed that he seconded very skilfully his good fortune. He used every appearance requisite to cause it to be believed that he had been forced to that resolution (the arrest of Beaufort, &c.); that the counsels of Monsieur and the Prince (de Condé) had prevailed in the mind of the queen against his advice. He appeared still more moderate, more civil, and more open the day after that act. Access to him was quite free; persons dined with him as with a private individual; he relaxed much even of the state of "the most ordinary cardinals."

Little or no notice was taken of the establishment of his guards, and, for the time, the increasing splendour which became apparent in his manner of living passed also unremarked. But the display of wealth and luxury in the midst of a population groaning under severe taxation will in the end raise up envy; and the people began to murmur at the government they had so lately applauded.

On the eve of a great political convulsion, both Mazarin and the queen shut their eyes to the approach of those storms which were fast sweeping over the sky, and gave no heed to the number of enemies which were increasing round their path while their friends fell off or lost their zeal. Yet the course of events had greatly changed the position of the minister ere the close of the year 1647, and had introduced that spirit of disunion into the

court which soon found a genial sphere of action in the commotions of the Fronde.

For the preservation of tranquillity and of his own authority, Mazarin had much to rely on; but there was, at the same time, much that he had to fear, and the dangers which threatened him were greatly attributable to the very policy which he had himself pursued. After the cabal of the Importants had been completely destroyed, and his own power fixed upon a strong basis, the council of state comprised only two persons, besides himself, who possessed any real power: these were the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, father of the great commander. The Duke of Longueville, indeed, was sufficiently powerful in the state to be worthy of some degree of management; but his influence in the council was, as yet, only that which Mazarin suffered him to possess in order to retain him in his interests.

The Prince de Condé and the Duke of Orleans, then, were the only persons who could at all balance the power of the queen and her minister; and they could do so only by the strictest union between themselves. Such an union was, therefore, dangerous to the individual power of the regent, and yet absolutely necessary to the welfare and tranquillity of the state; and between the horns of this dilemma, close and difficult to be passed as they were, Mazarin contrived to glide, and to keep him-

self in safety till the death of the elder Condé gave a new face to the relations of the court. The method that he took to steer in this difficult course, was to sow the seeds of petty dissensions between the prince and the duke, but never to suffer those dissensions to become important, tearing them up by the roots almost as soon as they had sprung up, with the same hand that had planted them. Thus he never suffered the Duke of Orleans and Condé to be so far united as to concert any great measure between themselves, nor so far divided as to induce the one to oppose the measures of the queen because they were supported by the other.\*

While kept thus far separate, Mazarin could easily deal with them both. The Prince de Condé was always to be led by his avarice; the Duke of Orleans, always to be conquered by his irresolution: and Mazarin possessed another hold upon the latter, by the hopes and fears of his favourite the Abbé de la Rivière, whom he kept leaping continually at a cardinal's hat, which he dangled before his eyes, but never suffered him to attain.

The same policy which the cardinal pursued towards La Rivière was, we find, his common course of action towards all the greedy nobles of the French court. During the first days of the regency everything had been given away that could be given, everything had been promised that could

\* La Rochefoucault.

be promised, and certainly much more than could be performed. But as soon as Mazarin felt himself secure in the seat, he gradually drew the rein tighter, and suffered the queen's generosity to run away with the light burden of novel power no longer.

As gifts, offices, and benefices fell in, Mazarin showed himself in no haste to confer them; \* well knowing that the prospect of obtaining each separate advantage thus held in suspense, was a much surer bond between the various claimants and himself, than their sense of obligation when once it had been conferred. In short, he was much more willing to trust to men's sense of their own interest than to their gratitude; and while he bestowed the office on no one, he generally held out hopes to those who had the best claim, if combined with the greatest power of serving him.

It was one of Mazarin's great mistakes to believe that interest was the sole mover of human beings: he made no allowance for the starts and plunges of the other passions, but fancied that by interest he could guide a whole people in whatsoever way he thought fit. Thus, while even with his friends he retained every gift as long as possible in order to make it the interest of all the claimants to oblige him, he threw a portion of the same powerful essence into the cup of those he



made his enemies, in order to temper and mitigate their hatred, and prevent it from fermenting into revenge.

Every person who was banished, very soon heard rumours that the cardinal was pleased with his demeanour under misfortune, and intended to recall him, if he continued to act discreetly: \* to the friends of all those who were cast into prison, hopes were held out of their emancipation, as soon as the cardinal's mind should be tranquillised in regard to their purposes by the complete submission of their family and adherents.

There was, nevertheless, a number of persons who either consulted the dictates of passion rather than of interest, or who, being as shrewd calculators as Mazarin himself, saw through his objects, learned to disbelieve his promises, and to give no ear to the hopes or fears that he held out. This incredulity was, of course, greatly increased as time went on, and as it was discovered that the minister, having attained power, was far less anxious to gratify than when he had been seeking it. Men gradually learned, too, to forget the stern rule of Richelieu, to lose sight of the beneficial change which they had felt strongly at first under the milder administration of Mazarin, to look upon that very mildness as a proof of weakness, and to ask themselves whether they could not snatch from

\* La Porte.

the tardy hands of the cardinal those good things which he seemed in no hurry to bestow.

For nearly two years the state of things remained very much as De Retz has depicted it when he says, "Monsieur (the Duke of Orleans) thought himself above taking warning; the Prince de Condé, attached to the court by his avarice, was willing to believe so likewise; the Duke D'Enguien was just at the age to go to sleep easily under the shadow of his laurels; the Duke de Longueville opened his eyes, but it was only to shut them again; the Duke of Vendôme thought himself too happy *only* to have been exiled; the Duke of Nemours was but a child; the Duke of Guise, newly come back from Brussels, was ruled by Madame de Pons, and believed that he ruled all the court; the Duke of Bouillon fancied that they would give him back Sedan every day; Turenne was more than satisfied to command the army in Germany; the Duke of Epemon was enchanted to have got back into his government and into his post: Schomberg had been all his life inseparable from everything that was well with the court; Grammont was its slave; and Messieurs De Retz, De Vitri, and De Bassompierre, believed themselves to be absolutely in favour, because they were no longer either prisoners or exiles. The parliament, delivered from the Cardinal de Richelieu, who had kept it at a very low ebb, imagined that the age of gold must

be that of a minister who told them every day that the queen would be guided only by their counsels."

These things, however, speedily began to change ; and each of the persons who, so strongly joined together, had been the support of the regent and of the state, began to feel a tendency towards separation. The Duke of Orleans had very early had a sharp dispute with the queen and Mazarin upon the appointment of Brienne to the post of secretary of state, and the dismissal of his own adherent Chavigni.\* That wound, however, had soon been healed. Mazarin had bestowed upon the discontented prince the government of Languedoc, and various other advantages ; but ere long a quarrel broke out between him and the house of Condé, which was more difficult to cure. On the occasion of some insolence, or some misconstruction, the fiery Duke d'Enghien broke the baton of office of one of the duke's officers, and was with difficulty withheld from quarrelling with the court, and plunging into revolt.

In the following year, the death of the Duke de Brézé left the post of superintendent of the seas † vacant ; and it was at once eagerly demanded by the victor of Rocroi, whose connexion with the deceased officer, as well as his important services, certainly gave him a claim superior, perhaps, to

\* Brienne.

† He was called Admiral of France, by courtesy.

that of anybody else. There were other fish, however, to be caught in the political stream; and Mazarin had baited his hook for the family of Vendôme with the very object which had attracted the eyes of D'Enguien. His application was, consequently, met by refusal; and the queen, to give time for consideration and negotiation, caused the patent of the office to be made out for herself. Though certainly not satisfied, D'Enguien did not show the same degree of heat which he had displayed in his quarrel with the Duke of Orleans; and although his father the Prince de Condé urged him boldly to take arms against the minister who refused him an office to which he had so just a title, the young duke remained tranquil, retaining, nevertheless, a natural feeling of indignation in his heart.

It afterwards appeared that Mazarin intended to make the post of superintendent, or of admiral, not only the means of reconciling the house of Vendôme to the crown, but also of uniting himself to that high family in such a manner as to secure himself support in any moment of need. His purpose was to marry his niece to the Duke of Mercœur, eldest son of the Duke of Vendôme. The admiralty was to be given to the father, with the survivorship assured to the second son, the Duke of Beaufort; and thus both gratitude and interest would bind the son and grandsons of Henry IV. to the interests of the minister. This purpose, how-

ever, was kept secret at the time, and not divulged, it would seem, till after the war of Paris. It was then, however, communicated to Condé, and was so evidently against the policy of his house that it met with immediate and severe opposition.\*

The Duke of Longueville, also, was greatly offended, not long after, by being refused the important post of colonel of the Swiss, which became vacant by the death of Bassompierre, and which was bestowed upon the Maréchal de Schomberg.

The differences of Mazarin with the Duke de Bouillon were of much older standing. That prince, deeply implicated in the conspiracy of Cinquars, had consented, in order to save his life, to sacrifice his independent principality of Sedan, receiving a promise of full compensation by territories to be given him within the kingdom of France itself. These territories had never yet been assigned, the Duke of Bouillon himself raising as many obstacles as the court of France, and hoping after the death of Richelieu to recover, from what he wrongly imagined the less tenacious hands of his successor, the restitution of his independent sove-

\* For these statements regarding the Prince de Condé, see Bussy, Lenet, and De Retz, each throwing some light upon the other;—likewise the account of the Count de Brienne, who was charged to communicate the Queen's refusal to the old Prince de Condé, and to soften it, as far as possible, to him and to his son. The prince, however, became vehemently enraged, and retired to Dijon; after which he only once more appeared at court while the royal family were at Fontainebleau.

reignty. For this he continually wrought both openly and privately ; he negotiated with Mazarin, he kept up communications with the inhabitants of Sedan and the neighbouring territories, and, at length finding these means unsuccessful, he withdrew from the court of France, and threw himself upon the protection of the Roman see. An officer, however, had been placed in Sedan, whose prompt and vigorous character, and clear-sighted political views, not only enabled Mazarin to turn the duke's proceedings against himself, but gave the minister the strongest encouragement and support in his purpose of holding fast that important fortress for the crown of France. This officer was Fabert ; and no sooner had the Duke de Bouillon retired to Rome than he and Mazarin seized the occasion of exacting from the citizens of Sedan the oath of allegiance to the King of France,—an oath which they had never yet taken.\*

This proceeding, of course, alienated more than ever the Duke de Bouillon, and naturally had a tendency to irritate his brother Turenne. Neither of them, however, were sufficiently strong, even if they were disposed, at that time to enter into open rebellion against the court of France. Nevertheless, the great and extraordinary talents of each, both political and military, rendered them even of more importance than they would have been merely on account of their high rank, posses-

\* Vie de Fabert.

sions, or connexions; and thus, before the commencement of serious disputes with the parliament, Mazarin had alienated some of the most talented and most influential men in France.

Condé, Turenne, and Longueville were at best doubtful friends; while the faction comprising Vendôme, Mercœur, Beaufort, Nemours, Chevreuse, Montbazon, and a thousand other celebrated names, with more than one half the wit and beauty of the capital, was openly arrayed against him.

The destruction of the feudal system had by this time been rendered so far complete, that although wealth, rank, and favour were sure to find followers, yet much of the influence of the great leaders depended upon their popularity. They could no longer bring their own vassals and tenantry, willing or unwilling, to serve even against the crown itself, but were obliged to depend for their retinue on a number of inferior nobles, who in the present case were of course biassed by their feelings towards the minister. Amongst these Mazarin had rendered himself anything but popular. He had, we are informed by Bussy, acquired the mean habit of exacting a certain pecuniary fine upon every appointment made by the crown, which disgusted even those for whom he obtained favours, and made them consider anything he granted as sold, not given. His extreme and predetermined slowness also was another cause of great complaint and irritation, and of much animosity towards him.

Whenever anything was demanded at Mazarin's hands, his first thought appeared to be how he could evade granting it till such time as he had insured, by so doing, the greatest portion of benefit to himself that could be thence derived. It used to be one of his common sayings, "*Time and I will bring it about;*" but though procrastination may, doubtless, be very useful to every minister on particular occasions, nothing was so well calculated to make him generally hated by an impatient and irritable nation like the French, as the constant habit of delaying, and the refusal of all explicit answer on matters in which the deepest interests of individuals were concerned.

Another point in the character of Mazarin which was soon perceived by the French people, was a degree of timidity, not reaching the height of personal cowardice, but sufficient to make him yield to clamour and outcry. His determinations were not always sustained with vigour; and it would seem that this want of resolution did not proceed from any doubt or hesitation in regard to the soundness of his own views, but from a consciousness of his own ignorance in regard to the laws and manners of France, and from an apprehension of putting himself in circumstances of danger and difficulty without knowing it. A few instances of this timidity were sufficient to convince the swarms of courtiers which infested the French capital, that means might always be found of driving Mazarin,



by fear, to any object which they might have in view, and at the same time tended to render him contemptible,—the most sure means of increasing the number of his enemies.

People now began to demand with insolence, and to bear any refusal with loud and angry murmurs. Every voice that was raised called out of silence ten or twelve more; nothing was heard but the most acrimonious epithets applied to the minister, and every complaint and tale of grievances, whether true or false, was greedily listened to, and added another shade to the deepening enmity against the cardinal. Thus the greater part of the court, which but a few years before had been, to use the expression of De Retz, *all Mazarin*, had now abandoned the idol of the day, and made a devil out of the same materials which they had been willing for a time to frame into a god.

There are two methods of obtaining public enmity. The first and most obvious is, by committing those obnoxious acts which affect the whole body of the public in general, or some very large portion thereof: the second is, by making such a great number of individual enemies, as to spread a general feeling of dislike through the public; for enmity towards a minister is ever, more or less, an infectious disease; and in the days of Mazarin, when the country in general was led by a number of nobles and their adherents, the disease might

amount to a pestilence communicated from master to man through a thousand different branches. I have now attempted to show that Mazarin, partly by his own fault, though partly undoubtedly by the faults and exactions of others, had already raised up against himself a large portion of the most talented and most influential men at the court of France, and by courting or incurring the enmity of individuals, had drawn upon himself a torrent of public odium.

It farther remains to be shown how, by committing acts which affected the whole public, and especially several large and important bodies thereof, he drew upon himself another kind of detestation still more general and more dangerous. Before I proceed to notice those acts, however, it will be necessary to speak of one individual, between whom and Mazarin grew up a sort of enmity apart, and who may be considered the sun of the system round which revolved all the minor orbs which shone upon that civil war which was known under the name of the War of the Fronde. This was Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, who saw the ranks of his faction filled at different times by the most opposite characters, who beheld swords drawn for him one day which were drawn against him the next, and who lived to witness all the most implacable enemies of Mazarin become that minister's friends and very humble servants, while he himself retained his

enmity to the last, expiated it in exile and poverty, and recorded it in many a pungent sarcasm almost with his dying hand.

During the latter five or six years of the rule of Richelieu, a young man of high and influential family, named the Abbé de Retz, had been struggling to be a conspirator ; and had laid out various plans of revolt, which were to begin in assassination and go on to civil war, without having attained, with all his efforts, the distinction either of the dungeon or the block.

With equal zeal but equal disappointment he had laboured to drive the ecclesiastical authorities, by the display of a licentious course of life which was congenial to his tastes and wishes, and by the affectation of a sanguinary spirit which was not so, to strip off the clerical robe, which had been forced upon him against his will. But the churchman's gown adhered to him like the garment of Nessus to Hercules of old ; and notwithstanding duels and intrigues, he found himself still the Abbé de Retz at the commencement of the regency, with no prospect before him but the life of an ecclesiastic. Under these circumstances, he made up his mind to resist his fate no longer, and obtained from the Queen an office which had been solicited for him even before the death of Louis XIII. and was now at once granted by the regent. He was appointed, as I have elsewhere said, titular Archbishop of Corinth, and coadjutor to his own uncle the Archbishop

of Paris. This office rendered him in fact Metropolitan, whenever his uncle, a man eaten up with vices and foibles, and incapacitated by age, was absent from his post; gave him, even when the archbishop was in Paris, power only second to his throughout the diocese; and insured to him the reversion of the dignity on his uncle's death.

For some time after his nomination De Retz remained apparently grateful to the regent, and attached to Mazarin. He dined every week with the minister, wisely refused to take any part in the cabal of the Importants, and demeaned himself in all things towards the government with due reverence and propriety. His daring and intriguing character however were well known, and it soon became apparent to Mazarin that De Retz was seeking to raise the station of Archbishop of Paris from the dust, into which the weakness of his uncle had cast it, and to increase his own influence and power throughout the diocese.

Such objects, had they gone no farther, might have been looked upon as laudable; but Mazarin seems to have understood the factious and ambitious character of the prelate at once, and to have known that with De Retz the possession of power could only lead to the attempt to obtain more. An effort made to ameliorate the state of spiritual instruction in the metropolis, by examining all the priests of the diocese, retaining those who proved themselves capable of their high ministry, instruct-

ing those who were likely to become capable by care, and removing those who were absolutely incapable to houses of religious retreat, attracted the attention of the court; and though no measure could have been devised that was likely to prove more salutary, yet the lustre which it shed upon its projector was so great, and the influence likely to follow was so important, that jealousy and suspicion were awakened in the bosom of Mazarin. Believing, perhaps rightly, that an increase of authority was what De Retz really aimed at, he induced the prelate's feeble uncle to stop the very beneficial proceedings which were already going on; and to forbid their renewal for the future.

De Retz was naturally piqued at the opposition shown to his best designs; and it was not long ere an opportunity presented itself of mortifying the court in return. In a general assembly of the clergy which took place in 1645, De Retz appeared as diocesan, and a question was very soon agitated—whether by his suggestion or not, does not appear—which was well calculated to give pain to the regent, and offence to the minister. In a former assembly, at Mantes, Richelieu, not finding the clergy quite so complaisant as he could have desired, took summary means of reducing it to obedience, by exiling six of the most intractable prelates.

This proceeding was justly looked upon by the clergy of France as a notorious violation of their

rights and privileges, and it was proposed at the meeting in 1645, to pay a tribute to the integrity of the six who had been exiled, by inviting them to take a seat in the existing assembly, although they had not been sent thither as deputies. With whom the proposal originated, as I have before said, does not appear; but certain it is, that De Retz was the person who moved it in public assembly, in a long and elaborate speech; and there can be little doubt that he was well aware that the measure would be displeasing to the Queen, and still more so to Mazarin, whose interest of course it was that all the arbitrary acts of his predecessor, whether he followed the same course of policy or not, should remain as unimpugned precedents in case of necessity.

Such an act of course brought down upon the head of De Retz the indignation of the court, which was greatly increased by the conduct of the prelate in regard to the marriage of the beautiful Marie de Gonzaga to the King of Poland. In the absence of his uncle, De Retz refused the use of the cathedral for that ceremony, if performed by any one but the archbishop or coadjutor.

After some very sharp disputes, Mazarin and the Queen kept the prelate amused with fair words, while they obtained from his uncle an express order for the use of the cathedral. Not satisfied with this, however, De Retz instigated the chapter, who claimed a distinct right over the choir, to refuse to give it up; and Mazarin, finding difficulties increase,

determined to have the marriage celebrated in the chapel of the palace, declaring that the grand almoner was bishop thereof. This brought a still more important point into discussion. De Retz asserted the right of the Archbishops of Paris, and declaring that no other bishop had power within their diocese, notified to Marie de Gonzaga, that, if she married without his licence, he would declare her marriage null. His resistance was crowned with success: the court was obliged to yield; and the Polish bishop, who had been sent to perform the ceremony, was forced to apply to De Retz for a written permission to officiate in the Palais Royal.

To have humbled the government, was a great and gratifying triumph to De Retz, and an act which of course raised him high in the esteem of the clergy of Paris. He lost himself, however, for ever with the court. No future services could efface the impression of his victory, but rather, on the contrary, aggravated the offence; for if it be difficult to triumph over our equals and efface the act by after obligations, it is impossible to triumph over our superiors without rendering every after service done to them an addition to our triumph and their mortification.

The Queen and Mazarin could of course never forget this proceeding; and the support which the coadjutor gave them shortly after, in regard to the gratuitous gift of the clergy to the crown, only

made them hate De Retz the more, and entertain a greater degree of jealousy toward him from the power that it showed him to possess. Having thus made enemies of the regent and her minister, De Retz proceeded to call upon himself the enmity of the Duke of Orleans, in regard to a point of precedence in the cathedral.

The Duke, fluctuating and uncertain, had at first treated the matter as a trifle, as it deserved; but he himself—being in fact nothing but a case for other men's passions, in a moment blown up, and in a moment reduced to nothing—was speedily stimulated by La Rivière to take up the question with De Retz in a very high tone, to insist upon his going to Notre Dame for the purpose of yielding him precedence before the public, and to threaten, if he resisted, to have him forcibly carried off by his guards, and compelled to make the submission required. This threat brought forth that trait in the character of De Retz which is the only point that renders the quarrel worthy of record. He was known to be factious, turbulent, and determined; but how far his daring spirit would carry him had not yet been fully ascertained. No sooner did he hear this threat on the part of the Duke of Orleans, than he assembled a multitude of gentlemen attached to himself, kept them armed in his house, and prepared to oppose force to force in his quarrel with the Duke.

The young and impetuous D'Enguien, who was



at that time in a state of suspended hostility with the Duke of Orleans, took part with De Retz, and publicly declared that he would not suffer him to be ill treated ; and his father the Prince de Condé, terrified at an open rupture between his son and the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, proceeded to the house of De Retz in order to use his eloquence for the purpose of persuading the prelate to make some apology to the Duke. He found the coadjutor's residence filled with armed men ; which more than ever alarmed him in regard to his son.

De Retz affected to yield to his devotion for the royal family, and declared that sooner than cause a division amongst them, he would do anything that did not imply an abandonment of the rights of the archbishopric. He accordingly agreed to go to the duke and explain to him, that he was only defending the order of the church ; and that though he was obliged to maintain his pre-eminence in the cathedral, he was ready to yield him precedence on every other occasion.

The Duke received this apology in very good part, and declared himself perfectly satisfied ; but Mazarin and the Queen, who had taken an active share in the discussion, were by no means equally contented ; and the promptitude and determination with which De Retz had armed his house and prepared for resistance were forgotten by no party, and had a due effect upon the minds of all.

Another occasion of quarrel between the coad-

jutor and Mazarin took place about the same time, in regard to the re-establishment of the Bishop of Leon in the see of which he had been dispossessed by the Cardinal de Richelieu; and the former again triumphed by the aid of the Duke D'Enguien. All this took place while the court was otherwise in perfect tranquillity; so that by the time that Mazarin, by his public acts—as well those committed, as those sanctioned by his authority—had brought upon himself and upon the queen regent the animosity of large bodies in the state and of the people in general, he and De Retz had cleared away all the mists of apparent co-operation and friendship between them with which the regency had begun, and stood forth, like the elephant and rhinoceros, the natural enemies of each other; the one possessing the greater bulk and strength, but the other covered with an impenetrable armour of subtle and persevering policy, and armed with a weapon, the royal favour, which though single, was at least equal to all the tusks and trunk of his adversary.

Voltaire declares that the wars of the Fronde commenced about a little money: but the little money was merely the pretext. The real question was one of very much greater importance. Each age has its characteristic event; some movement, some struggle, some effort in the field of policy, literature, science, or social improvement. That age was the age of struggle between the royal prerogative and the liberties of the people,—or, to put

it in more general terms, between the portion of power lent by great masses to individuals for the preservation and regulation of the whole, and the inherent power of the masses exerted to recall a part of that which had been confided or yielded to individuals.

In Spain, the revolt of Catalonia, the resistance of Arragon, the insurrection of Portugal, all bore more or less the same character. In Germany, though the people were but little concerned, the struggle was taking place a step above,—between the princes of the confederation and their head.

In England, Naseby and Newbury, and Marston Moor, the imprisonment of Charles, the mock trial, and the block at Whitehall, showed where the struggle was carried on by a reasoning, determined, and fearless people, till the settlement of the question for the time was written in the blood of *the martyr to his prerogative*. It is a great misfortune, that in all forms of government which have yet been invented, except that of a pure despotism or a state of barbarism, the public welfare has always been obliged to be held so nicely suspended, like the fabled coffin of Mahomet, between two contending powers, that the least disturbance of the balance produces a violent concussion, and engenders the necessity of a new adjustment. Through the whole world, up to the period of which we speak, the prerogative of the crown had either increased by the grasping of various

monarchs, and by the fall of intermediate powers ; or had been left at the point where it had been placed in former ages, while the moral authority of the people had become greater : and in either case the balance was destroyed, and a struggle could not be avoided.

This was peculiarly the case with France. There the extent of the royal authority was uncertain, and the rights of the people disallowed, except inasmuch as one body in the state had always, from time to time, claimed a power of resisting on one point the sovereign will ; but that point being the great and important one on which turned the whole machine of state ; namely, the power of imposing taxes. The parliament of Paris had claimed a right of verifying, registering, and discussing previous to registration, the royal edicts regarding new burdens imposed upon the public ; and this was in fact the only particular in which— if we except the remote, difficult, and almost useless resource of the states general — in which France at the end of the reign of Louis XIII. differed from a purely despotic monarchy.

The Duke de Rohan observed of that king, that he was jealous of his authority because he did not know its extent. But in this respect the king differed in no degree from his subjects, inasmuch as all the records of the time, the declarations of the monarchs to their parliaments, the replies of the parliaments to the monarchs, and the expositions

of the most learned lawyers of France, show distinctly that there was not one man throughout the whole land who had the slightest idea of what were the real limits of the royal authority. Nor was this at all extraordinary, as it proceeded from the simple fact that no limit had ever been fixed to the royal authority at all.

The feudal system had been its only restraint. That system was done away; the recourse to the states-general, which had been a part of that system, and one of its most obnoxious parts to the monarchs, had never been had since 1614, when the ruin of that system had proceeded so far as to be irremediable: and even then it was held by the best French lawyers, that the states had no real power, and could only make remonstrance and supplication; the maxim being recognised and admitted, "Qui veut le roi, si veut la loi,"\* a maxim which left the government of France despotic according to doctrine, though not according to fact.

In the struggle between doctrine and fact, Richelieu had established the despotic authority of the king: but fact can only be stunned, not slain; and it merely lay dormant till the hand which had cast it down was removed, and then prepared once again to wage war with its more mortal antagonist. The parliament of Paris then, which had been forced to yield to Richelieu, and tacitly to obey his will,

\* See the President de Henault, and the pleadings of Blancmesnil cited by him.

without however subscribing to his doctrine, now prepared to assert the fact of the people's rights; led on undoubtedly by passions, intrigues, selfishness, vanity, and every petty interest,—but still none the less influenced in direction, in progress, and in object by the great spirit of the epoch.

The parliament on the commencement of the new reign had, as we have seen, exercised a power of very great importance, but which it had constantly claimed, of nominating to the regency without the slightest regard to the will of the last monarch. But it had by no means forgotten the many severe lessons which it had received from Richelieu, nor had yet learned that there were powers in the state, to which it could apply, sufficiently strong to give it support in all just opposition to any minister whatsoever.

For fully three years the impression of Richelieu's authority remained in force, and probably might have endured longer, had not Mazarin taken especial pains to show the parliament his apprehension of its powers by frequently assuring it that the queen would rule by its counsel and advice alone. Great and severe grievances, however, were required to make the parliament take the first step against the minister, although it contained within its bosom a number of members who had been rendered inimical to Mazarin as individuals by many of his public acts. Amongst the rest were several near relations of Potier, Bishop of Beauvais,

who, having expected great advantages from his administration, had been of course enraged and disappointed by his fall.

The circumstances in which Mazarin was placed soon brought about those great and severe grievances which were necessary to array the parliament against him. The whole fiscal system of France at that period was corrupt and full of abuse. It seemed as if it had been framed for the purpose of giving the collectors and administrators of the revenue the greatest possible opportunity of plundering both the monarch and his subjects, exacting from the people more than was due, and paying to the king less than was his right. At the same time, it rendered it the interest of every one who meddled with finance, from the lowest farmer of the revenue to the superintendent-general, to involve the affairs committed to their direction in so much mystery, obscurity, and confusion, that no one else could unravel the details, which indeed were very often quite inexplicable to themselves.

The revenue of France at that time is said to have amounted to very near 75,000,000 of livres; which, according to the value of money at that time, was of course considerably greater than it appears at present, especially as the debt was a mere trifle. At the same time, however, an expensive war, which had already lasted for many years, and for the support of which the taxes had been increased to an extraordinary extent, was

still proceeding on every point of the frontier, and was carried on upon a very extravagant plan.

There can be no doubt also, that both Richelieu and Mazarin had found there was no unguent which made the wheels of their foreign policy move so rapidly as gold; and it would appear that large sums had found their way into Holland, as well as into Germany, for civil as well as for military purposes. Such drains of course required either very great economy, or very large supplies; and the queen, in the first bountiful moments of her accession to power, had not only remitted a part of the duties, but had emptied the royal treasury to the bottom, in order to give to all who asked her. The consequence naturally was a difficulty in procuring the means absolutely necessary for the support of the state; and a financier named Particelli, but commonly called Emery, a countryman of Mazarin's, and a devoted servant of his will, was employed to rule the finances of a country, from which Frenchmen found a difficulty of extorting any more.

The lamentable confusion which existed in this department of public business, even at a very early period of the regency, is displayed by the statements of the celebrated Fabert; which show that the pay of the soldiery, the salaries of officers, magistrates, and governors of cities, and the necessary sums appointed for the annual maintenance of fortresses, were all in arrear; that to many of



the principal commanders the state was indebted for large sums advanced by them; and that the assignments made by the minister himself upon particular funds were often refused payment by Emery and others, who frankly acknowledged that there was not a livre in the treasury.\*

Such a state, of course, required extraordinary exertions; but Emery, unfortunately, did not employ those talents which he really possessed in seeking the rational and certain mode of relieving the state: he introduced no better system of collecting the revenue, no clearer method of keeping the public accounts, no economical plan of administering the finances. In order to hide their dilapidated state, and perhaps to cover peculation, he involved them in greater confusion and obscurity than ever, and directed the whole powers of his mind to discover new burdens to be imposed upon the people. The superintendent Emery has come down to us painted in the blackest colours,—represented as luxurious, debauched, cold, hard-hearted, and repulsive; and we are told, that on a needy author offering him some flattering poem, he replied, without rewarding him, “Instead of praising me, manage to make men forget me! Superintendents were made to be cursed!”

In such a speech, one might have found traces of that noble fortitude which despises the clamour and reprobation of fools and multitudes, had he

\* Vie de Fabert, vol. i.

been at the same time labouring to ameliorate the condition of the people who assailed him : but when, on the contrary, he was every day seeking for fresh means of burdening the nation, such words evince both the hardened daring of an unfeeling oppressor, and the licentious levity of a vain and greedy adventurer.

That he had talents of a particular character, and courage of the most determined kind, there can be no doubt ; but that he wanted judgment in many of the most straightforward proceedings, is clearly proved by his public acts. De Retz paints him as “ the most corrupted spirit of the age ;” and adds, that he cannot better express the bottom of Emery’s heart than by saying, he declared in open council, that good faith was only made for shopkeepers. He states, moreover, that ere his rise to power, Emery had been condemned to be hanged at Lyons ; but it is not improbable that the spirit of the Fronde—and it was a lying spirit—there spoke out by the mouth of its great leader.

Bussy furnishes a more favourable picture of the superintendent of finance. “ Emery was,” he says, “ harsh, proud, clever, intelligent in matters of business, ingenious in the creation of new subsidies to provide for the expenses of the war ; he exercised a rigorous inquisition upon property of all kinds, and was never tired of trampling upon the subjects of the king.” By Madame de Motteville he is represented as witty, talented, and amusing,—but so

far as to have acquired the name of the "witty hog."

Such speeches as those which have been attributed to Emery of course but added to the public detestation which was already gathering over the superintendent's head; and every day some fresh act of unprincipled extortion awoke the general indignation. No man, perhaps, ever contrived to mingle so much levity with such bitter exactions, or showed the French people so strongly that he scoffed at them while he trampled on them.

All the new offices and charges which he created, and which—according to the vicious system at that time followed in France—were sold to the highest bidder, conveyed ridicule by their very names. Besides granting letters patent of nobility to all the wealthy citizens who had the folly to buy an empty epithet, which in their case could convey no honour or distinction, he created posts of Comptrollers of fagots, of sworn Sellers of hay, of King's Counselors criers of wine; he tampered with the fund called *Rentes de l'Hôtel de Ville*, and contrived to plunder the fundholders by means of charges of entry, retention of dividends, and other acts which were little else than public robbery. His luxury, his ostentation, caused the people to attribute these acts as much to the desire of private peculation as to the necessity of providing for the state; and when it was known that he took advantage of the

evil system of political economy existing in France to grant favours and confer fortunes upon his creatures and dependents, of course the suspicion and the odium became more powerful.

An instance is recorded by Gourville, of his having himself obtained from Emery a passport, as it was termed in those times, in order to move a thousand tons of wheat from Poitou ; and the infamy of the whole system is at once shown by the fact, that this passport for a thousand tons produced no less a premium to Gourville than ten thousand livres, more than ten shillings a ton of our present money, besides all the profits which the speculators to whom he sold the use of the passport could derive from it.\*

It was about the period at which these events took place that Henry Prince of Condé died,† leaving his rank, his vast fortune, and his great influence, to a prince of twenty-five years of age, whose military genius and uninterrupted succession of victories had already cast into his hands a very great share of authority. The elder Condé was at the time of his death upon bad terms with the court ; but, nevertheless, his decease produced a very detrimental effect upon the state of parties in France. His son, possessing infinitely greater talents, wanted his experience and caution, qualities the best suited to the epoch, and appeared upon the scene, impetuous, bold even to rashness, not

\* Gourville, vol. i.

† December 1646.

altogether disinterested, yet thoughtless of consequences; a mere youth in everything but genius, and as yet possessing judgment only in the battlefield.

Condé was certainly not calculated to bring any elements of tranquillity into the great mass of political parties which were beginning to ferment in the capital. What the caution, prudence, and calculating cupidity of his father might have done to calm and keep down the factions that were springing up, was sure to be left undone or reversed by the impetuous general, too much accustomed to command, to obey, too much accustomed to conquer, to yield. The moment he heard of his father's death, having been previously warned by Brienne, in the affair of the admiralty, that the queen was determined not to consider posts and offices as hereditary, he hastened to Paris, in order to obtain what share he could of the places which had been held by the last prince.

In the mean time, Mazarin looked forward to his coming with a considerable degree of apprehension. He knew that he had been offended by the rejection of his pretensions to succeed the Duke de Brézé; and he foresaw, that whereas it had been comparatively easy to manage the Prince de Condé, first prince of the blood, and the Duke d'Enguien, the first warrior of the day, when they were two, it would be a most difficult task to resist the person in whom those two characters were united. His

fears got the better of his policy, and, instead of attempting to retain a part of the power which the late prince had possessed by virtue of his offices, of adding it to the power of the queen, and of satisfying Condé, as might easily have been done, with a part of what his father had enjoyed — by which means he would both have fortified the regent's authority, and have avoided superadding to that of him she had to fear, Mazarin determined to prostrate himself at the feet of Condé, and to give him at once entrance into all the posts and offices which his father had held.

Mazarin and the prince met, in short, as two men not knowing in the slightest degree the power or expectations of the other, and each ready to make great concessions. Mazarin, however, was first in the race of apprehension, and he at once put a stop to the demands of the prince, while he astonished him with a great astonishment, by announcing the queen's determination to put him in possession of all the charges, offices, and governments with which his father had been invested. That he was completely taken by surprise, is shown by his reply to Mazarin, to whom he said, that being now overwhelmed by the bounty of the queen, he had nothing more to demand.\* Not contented, however, with having gone so far as he had gone, and not yet aware of the mistake he had committed, Mazarin still continued to hold out to

\* Brienne, vol. iii.

Condé hopes of greater favours, as a compensation for the refusal of the admiralty.

Such was the state of affairs when the parliament of Paris first began to make strenuous opposition to the fiscal measures of the court by a number of petty acts, which might well have shown the minister that the war was beginning, and might have taught him to prepare himself more fully than he had hitherto done, either at once to put down the spirit of resistance by some well-judged stroke of authority, while that spirit was neither vigorous nor general, or to evade the contest by such willing concessions as might remove all immediate cause of complaint.

Mazarin, however, was quite ignorant of the danger of his situation. All the accounts of the time show this to have been the case. Brienne, one of his ministry, points it out strongly; La Rochefoucault implies it; and De Retz represents him as an ignorant physician looking upon a sick man fallen into a lethargy from which he is about to awake in frenzy, and regarding his state as but a sweet sleep, the sign and prognostication of restored health. In his first dealings with the parliament, however, he was certainly more like a boy stretching his arm through the bars of a cage to pull the mane of a sleeping lion, and disregarding all the half-awakened growls of the powerful beast till it arose in anger to tear him.

Four measures, each extremely obnoxious, most

of them unwise and impolitic, and all calculated to irritate various important bodies of people, were urged forward one after another, and began the first serious disputes which led to the wars of the Fronde. The first of these is known by the name of the *toisé*, and was certainly justified by law; but was founded upon principles so absurd, that the regulation had not been acted upon, I am led to believe, in any case since the edict which authorized it had been promulgated, just one hundred years before.

At a time when it appeared to the legislators of the sixteenth century, that the capitals of European kingdoms were growing too large, they attempted to cure the political hydrocephalus by putting iron bands round the heads of their patients. In other words, forgetting, or not knowing, that we may direct and guide, but can never stop the natural course of events; the French politicians determined to make a law which should restrict the capital within certain limits, and an edict was promulgated by the king, and registered by the parliament, forbidding all persons to extend the suburbs of the city of Paris beyond certain limits, upon pain of demolition of the houses built, confiscation of the materials, and an unlimited fine at the discretion of the judges.

Previous to the invasion of the Roman Empire by the barbarians, the character of society placed cities in a very different position from that which they



have occupied since the fall of Rome. A town was the nucleus round which a province, a kingdom, an empire was gathered together ; the soul, the spirit, from which the will emanated to every extreme part. Men went to conquer cities, not countries ; and it is much more the cities of Rome, Babylon, Jerusalem, Carthage, that we consider, than the tracts of land attached to, or under the dominion of those great heads, and which were principally serviceable to them in supplying them with food, soldiers, and servants. The principle of those times was expansion ; the city was formed, and then spread its power around, adding province after province to its dominion, and subduing inferior towns beneath its sway : in fact, the waters of society were then supplied by great fountains which swelled on into rivers.

After the inundation of the barbarians, the matter was reversed, and it has ever since been like a vast flood, subsiding into defined channels, or gathering into large lakes. The spirit of the time has been that of concentration ; and the natural tendency has been, as the feudal system decayed,—a system absolutely and entirely of rural government,—to gather together into cities, to extend their limits, and gradually to bring the most remote parts of the state to depend upon and have reference to the capital.

Under these circumstances, it must be very evident that at no period, since the enfranchisement of

the communes effected the first great flaw in the feudal edifice, could any law be at all effectual, the direct object of which was to limit the increase of a capital. However that may be, such a law had been passed in France in 1548, and Emery, thinking himself blessed in having discovered such a means of extortion, drew it forth from the dust in which it had lain, and proceeded to put it in execution against the inhabitants of Paris. It is true, he did not pretend to pull down the houses which had been built, or to fill the queen's coffers with the stones thereof; but he determined to have the space which had been built over, beyond the limits, exactly measured, and to compel the proprietors of houses so situated to pay a fine proportionate to their possessions, in order to save their dwellings from the pickaxe and the hammer.

Terror and consternation spread through all the proprietors of buildings in the suburbs. It was not alone that each house would thus be taxed, but a thousand difficulties arose as to the person on whom the tax would fall. Those who had built the houses no longer possessed them: in many instances they had been sold, in many they had descended through a thousand collateral channels to those in whose hands they now rested. Nothing but law, and prospects of law, was to be met with all through Paris.

The poorer people of the suburbs met together in mobs, insulted the officers charged with the

measurement, and threatened to kill the surveyors employed; troops were brought up to defend the royal officers, and the survey was carried on at the point of the pike: but the people most interested now brought their complaints before the parliament, and though that body could not positively condemn the execution of a law that it had authorised, yet it made vigorous remonstrances with the court on its revival; and after having obtained some small supplies, Emery suffered the business to drop. How much he obtained by these means, I do not know; but whatever it was, it was only a price which the people of Paris paid for the first important lesson in the science of resistance, in which they made rapid and unceasing progress from that hour.

The affair of the *toisé* was very speedily followed by a still more serious grievance. There had long existed in France an impost, which still forms a part of their fiscal system, upon the entrance of various commodities into cities; a method of taxation always burdensome, and which is amongst the last remnants of those evil checks which embarrassed all commercial transactions during the dark ages of political science. On this tax Emery determined to raise a very large addition, and he published a new tariff of duties upon the entry of all articles of the first necessity into Paris. This was the true means, could it have been carried into effect, to have restricted Paris to very narrow limits. But

this evil was of course still more generally felt than that of the *toisé*. The edict had indeed been carried to the chamber of aids during the preceding year; and that court had verified it, at a period when resistance to the government was yet scarcely thought of and the impulsion of Richelieu's rule had not come to an end. The execution of this law, however, now raised a very great outcry; and the people, taught to look up to the parliament as their natural defenders, and seeing, from the example of its proceedings regarding the *toisé*, that it was willing to throw off the supineness under which it had so long laboured, carried vehement complaints to the bar of that tribunal, which, in the month of August 1647, took the subject into deliberation, and it became apparent to the court that a decree would be speedily given against the execution of the tariff.

Under these circumstances, Mazarin and Emery determined boldly to lay the edict for the tariff before the parliament, and command it to verify the act, not doubting to be able to evade or overcome opposition, as they had done before. In this, however, they found themselves mistaken: the parliament determined to reject the edict, the queen commanded that body to repair to her presence, and the chancellor, in her name, asserted that the right of verification was in the court of aids; but finding that the parliament still persisted, after various meetings and many contestations the edict

was withdrawn, only to prepare the way for others more burdensome still.

This stratagem had in some degree its effect. When compared with the new edicts, that of the tariff appeared light. To refuse to verify all the acts of the king would have hurried the parliament of Paris on into a contest for which, notwithstanding the example of England, it was in no degree morally prepared ; and in this dilemma, it returned to the tariff, verifying it with certain modifications. The court rejected the modifications, and the parliament would not admit of their being evaded : so that, sooner than absolutely compromise the royal authority, the tariff was again thrown on one side. Emery, however, had still a hold upon the parliament, and he applied himself to find out and revive all the most burdensome and irritating taxes to which the parliament had given their sanction within such a space of time as to bar the plea of desuetude. Upon some of these, especially upon what was called the *chambre de domain*, the people rose, maltreated several of the officers of the parliament itself, and forced that body to issue decrees against the sedition.

Fancying that the parliament and the people were now fully committed in opposition to each other, the court determined upon a vigorous effort. While these proceedings were taking place, however, an event occurred which cast new matter of intrigue into the mass which was already fermenting in

Paris. Towards the beginning of November 1647, the young King was observed to be unwell, and on the 10th of that month it was announced that decided symptoms had shown themselves of small-pox; a disease which, under the hands of the unskilful physicians of that period, assumed the character of a pestilence. Hopes, fears, anxieties were awakened in the breasts of all men; the people and the court in general regretted the probable fate of a young monarch; but the opponents of the queen and Mazarin saw with satisfaction the likelihood of a new struggle for authority, and the parliament prepared to take advantage of the crisis to seize upon any share of power which circumstances placed within its reach. The King's disease at first appeared of a very malignant kind; but the strength of Louis's constitution triumphed over it, and apprehensions were soon removed and intrigues quelled by the announcement of his convalescence. This was the moment that the court chose for putting in execution a stroke of state policy.

At the period of the king's recovery, the parliament and the populace were at open variance, and the officers of the former body were frequently insulted and maltreated by the people. Taking advantage of the popular movements, and the anticipated support of the parliament, the court introduced the strong argument of military force into the discussion, and the French and Swiss guards were seen occupying various posts in the Rue St.

Denis. The people, however, already agitated, were gathered together in a moment, took possession of the steeples of the three churches which commanded the street wherein the guards had appeared, and, the *prévôt des marchands* notified to the court of the Palais Royal, that all Paris was upon the eve of taking arms. The guards were immediately withdrawn, and the court sent word to the *prévôt* and spread amongst the people that the appearance of the soldiery had only been occasioned by the king's intention of going to Notre Dame, to return thanks for his recovery. On the following day, the 15th of January 1648, he did indeed proceed to the cathedral in great pomp, and testified his gratitude to the Almighty for his restoration to health;\* and the next morning, early, scarcely giving any notice to the members, he appeared in the parliament, and laid before it six edicts, which had not been communicated previously even to the law officers of the crown.

One of these edicts created twelve new places of *maîtres des requêtes*, with the intention of selling them as usual; which, though it lowered the value of the other masterships, would have brought in a considerable sum to the coffers of the state.

\* Bussy and some others declare that he went from the cathedral at once to the palace of the Parliament; but I have preferred the account of De Retz, who places it upon the following day, as we know that his visit to the parliament took place early in the morning, and that the thanksgiving in Notre Dame was later in the day.

Another edict ordered the retention of a considerable part of the salaries of officers belonging to the chamber of accounts and the great council. Both of these edicts were calculated to produce the most violent animosity towards the court amongst several very large and very important bodies of men.

The *maîtres des requêtes* formed a corps of young magistrates of the greatest promise and influence in France, who were all of them aspirants to the highest offices in the law, who were animated by all the fire of youth, and who were bound, both by vanity and interest, to render themselves either beloved by the people, or favoured by the court, according to the preponderance of power in the hands of one or the other. The creation of twelve new masters, of course, greatly diminished the value of the offices which they held, and for which they had all paid very considerable sums.

As soon as the edicts had been read and the king had withdrawn, they retired into their own particular court, where their indignation burst forth, and prompt measures were adopted for vigorously opposing the will of the government. The next day they presented to the assembled parliament a solemn protest against the edict which added to their number; and though this course was undoubtedly a direct attack upon the acknowledged prerogative of the crown, yet the parliament received their protest, and inserted it in the records.

The queen now sent for the refractory magistrates,



and remonstrated with them in sharp terms upon the hardihood of their proceeding. She received nothing, however, but answers verging upon insolence; and on the same day the parliament assembled to examine the edicts which the king himself had brought down and caused to be verified. Its proceedings, however, were stopped by an order from the queen to repair to her presence; and on the appearance of the deputies of the parliament before her, the chancellor, speaking in the queen's name, chid them severely for attempting to meddle with edicts the verification of which had been consecrated by the presence of the king.

The parliament, however, had now arrived at that stage of resistance when the high-sounding expressions of the chancellor received little attention. The first president defended the conduct of the parliament, showing that the suffrages of that body could not be considered free in the presence of the king; and therefore, that though, out of respect, the edicts were verified in his presence, it was necessary to examine them after his departure.

Precedents, indeed, were not wanting to prove that the kings of France had always contested this right of the parliament; nor to show that the parliament had itself very frequently yielded it; but, as usual in such cases, there were precedents on the other side also, and the queen could not, of course, dispute the question with the first lawyers in

France. She therefore dismissed the deputies, and suffered them to proceed with their examination: but as she found, after several days' discussion, that the modifications proposed would totally nullify the edicts, she expressed her determination to have them executed without any modification at all; and the Prince de Conti was directed to carry down the edicts which affected the court of aids to that body, while the Duke of Orleans proceeded to the chamber of accounts with those which were within its cognizance.

Both those bodies, however, showed their determination to resist; and as soon as the princes had left them, the court of aids sent deputies to the chamber of accounts, to require a union with it for their mutual support. This was agreed to at once, and the great council, a body which had become of very little use, and of very little importance, except by the dead weight which it afforded in one scale or the other, was easily induced to join the two other superior courts. This was probably what the queen had expected when she had issued an edict for retaining part of the salaries of the officers of those courts; but she, or Mazarin rather, had expected another result also, which did not follow.

Many years before, a tax had been invented by Charles Paulet for the purpose of rendering the system followed in France with regard to the sale of public offices permanently profitable to the

revenue. The persons who had purchased a particular office had, of course, purchased it only for life; but by the plan of Paulet, the king, of his especial grace, offered every nine years certain conditions, on which any officer could secure to his family a property in the post he held, if he died within the nine years ensuing; so that if none of his children or relations were in a condition to apply for it to the king themselves, it might be sold to any one who could acquire the royal consent. The condition was, that every one having bought an office should pay, as an annual due to the king, the sixtieth part of the price of purchase. If this were paid regularly, and the officer died within the year, his family could dispose of the post: if he failed, and died within the year, the post fell to the king.

This most absurd and abusive imposthume upon an absurd and abusive system was called the *Paulette*; and the last term for which it had been granted had now come to a conclusion. It was therefore expected as a matter of course, that the king would renew the term as usual: but Emery, determined that he would draw some money from the renewal, at least in form of a loan, and Mazarin and the superintendent both wrongly imagined that they could set the parliament at variance with the other courts of law, by making an exception in favour of one body, while the purses of the others were thus attacked. Thus, one of the edicts

went to announce that the king would grant the renewal of the Paulette; but that the wants of the government required that four years of the salaries of all the sovereign courts, except the parliament, should be retained by the monarch as a loan. We have said that Mazarin was disappointed in his expectation: that expectation was, that the parliament of Paris would abandon the three other courts, in consideration of the favour shown to itself; and that such a separation would produce divisions, in the midst of which he could re-establish the authority he had lost.

Although even De Retz, in some of these proceedings, makes a sort of sinister defence for his adversary Mazarin, it must be evident to any one that the minister, in his ignorance of the French character and customs, threw away the only effectual weapon he possessed, the renewal of the Paulette, in order to grasp at another,—which he was more accustomed to use, indeed,—the division of his enemies, but which in the present case was totally out of his reach.

Had Mazarin made the price of the renewal of the Paulette the complaisance and good behaviour of the parliament, every member of the magistrature, having a vast interest in the question, and being, in the present instance, totally and entirely in the hands of the minister, would naturally have felt the strongest inclination to support everything which that minister proposed, unless it were in the

most gross and open violation of right and justice. If out of the number there were twenty, ten, five, of those disinterested spirits, who in a matter which, as in this case, admitted no fury or passion, would calmly and deliberately sit down to sacrifice their own most important interests for the remote benefit of their country, we probably allow more than ever were found in such an assembly; and, most certainly, to counterbalance them, there would have been ten times the number who would have sacrificed the most immediate benefit for their country even to a remote interest of their own.

As it was, the Paulette being promised, the parliament, though favoured, had no future motive for supporting the court: the great council, the court of aids, and the chamber of accounts deputed members to confer with the parliament, to represent to that body that its exemption from this new and burdensome tax had been merely granted in order to divide those corps upon whose union the safety of the state depended, and to propose that they should make common cause, in order to reform the abuses of the state.

The parliament was speedily convinced that what the other chambers asserted, was the case; and that what they proposed, was its just and natural course of policy. Accordingly, on the 13th of May 1648, a solemn Decree of Union was passed, by which it was declared, that two coun-

sellors should be chosen from each chamber of the parliament who should be charged to confer from time to time with the deputies from the other high courts; and to make their report to the assembled chambers, which would thereupon take order as was befitting.

This was the most important step which had yet been taken in the opposition which was fast increasing against the court, and was, indeed, that step on which depended the whole after-events of the wars of the Fronde. No sooner did the court hear of this declaration of union, than its fears and indignation were equally excited, and every effort was used by all members of the government to put a stop to such proceedings for the future. The Decree of Union was formally declared null by a royal edict, the courts were forbidden to assemble, and the parliament was commanded to appear before the queen. The question was even put to it straightforwardly, whether it pretended, or not, to circumscribe the royal authority.

The parliament was so little accustomed at that time to resist even the most arbitrary measures of the government; indeed, the whole people of France were still so ignorant in regard to the nature of political rights, that the parliament showed itself in no degree prepared to reply to the bold question of the council, and protested that they only pretended to remove the evils which had

crept into the administration, but in no degree to circumscribe the royal authority.

Mazarin, as usual, gave way and shifted his ground; and, unsuccessful in dividing the sovereign courts among themselves, he attempted to separate them from the people, by giving out that they were now acting alone for their own interests, because a part of their salaries had been taken from them. This artifice, however, was not more successful than those which had gone before. The intention of seeking the public good, and pure motives in everything which bears the name of reform in the state, have always been willingly attributed by the populace to those who resist the existing government; and in the present instance, as in most others, the people only seemed to think that the parliament did not proceed rapidly enough.

It would be tedious to follow all the minute turns of the contest between the parliament and the court. On the one hand, the friends and counsellors of the queen looked upon their opponents as the direct assailants of the authority of the crown, and advised the most rigorous measures against them; while on the other, the parliament proceeded from step to step, showing the most thorough contempt for all those edicts and decrees to which they had shown as much servile deference during the sterner and more powerful rule of Richelieu.

After having resisted, remonstrated, and threatened for some weeks, Mazarin and the court began to perceive that the mind of the populace was becoming irritated to a very dangerous degree, and, in consequence, they suddenly yielded everything for which they had struggled, with a display of weakness which, as De Retz justly observes, would have been contemptible had any other course been left for the minister to pursue. Emery was dismissed and exiled from the court to one of his estates; but the people were not satisfied. The parliament continued to assemble, and although the Maréchal de Meilleraie, who succeeded Emery as superintendent of finance, was personally popular, from his fiery courage, and frank and gallant bearing, yet, embarrassed on all hands, he could do nothing to supply the court from a treasury utterly exhausted, or to relieve the people from the burden under which they groaned, in the midst of unparalleled state exigence.

Several of the most factious members of the different courts had been arrested by order of the queen, and enfranchised again at the remonstrance of the parliament; but, at length, Mazarin having reduced himself to a position in which, to use the words of one of his adversaries, he could take no step without committing a fault, gave way on the last point of importance, and sanctioned the meetings of the deputies in the Chamber of St. Louis, according to the long-resisted Decree of Union.



The parliament now showed a determination to seek not only an amelioration of the financial system, but vengeance upon those under whom it had lately been conducted.

The principal objects of animosity, putting Emery and Mazarin out of the question, were the local intendants, who managed the finances of the country in the provinces : and these the parliament determined to dismiss, proceeding against them, at the same time, with the utmost strictness, upon the slightest suspicion of extortion or malversation. The danger of these proceedings was manifest to every one : the country was still in the midst of a severe war ; large armies were on foot, which required to be supported ; various successes had been lately gained by Spain ; and if, on the one hand, France was delivered from the assaults of the German branch of the house of Austria, the Spanish branch of that family, following the wise measures of Don Louis de Haro, had just freed itself from that long and disastrous war with the Dutch, which, more than anything else, had served to debase the monarchy of Spain from the high pre-eminence which it had attained scarcely two centuries before.

All the resources of France were required to enable her to carry on the contest with success ; the union of her people, the support of her magistrates, the unshackled energy of her government, seemed all absolutely necessary at that moment.

But the financial difficulties which the parliament threw in the way threatened not only to keep all supplies from the armies, but, by overthrowing at once the whole financial system, by alarming all those capitalists who lent money to the state, and by leaving the fabric of the administration in equal derangement with the system of collection, to entail upon the country a period of chaotic confusion from which it would be very difficult to extricate the state for years.

Under these circumstances, the Duke of Orleans exerted himself strenuously to persuade the parliament to more moderate measures. All he could obtain, however, was a delay of three days in the promulgation of the parliamentary edicts against the intendants, in order that the act of their dismissal might come from the king himself, so as to preserve the semblance of authority intact. In presenting the king's declaration to that effect, the Duke of Orleans endeavoured to evade the prosecution of the proposed investigation into the conduct of the provincial financiers; but the parliament insisted upon its being pursued, and it was found necessary to establish a particular tribunal of inquiry. As it was contrived, however, that the king should retain the nomination of the members of this court, the government was satisfied that it could render its proceedings very nearly ineffectual.

Thus, between the errors of both parties,—the feebleness and subtlety of the court, and the feeble-

ness and factiousness of the parliament,—all that was evil in the measure, namely, its effect upon public credit, was preserved; while all that was good was done away. Having carried this point, and perceiving that the parliament was determined to proceed to others still more difficult and dangerous to meddle with, Anne of Austria and her ministers resolved to see whether they could disarm the parliament by granting spontaneously all that it could reasonably demand, and only requiring, in return, that the assemblies in the chamber of St. Louis, which under the decree of union had already produced so much dissension, should be thenceforth put a stop to.

Accordingly, on the 31st of July, the King proceeded in state to the parliament, and held what was called “a bed of justice,” in which the chancellor read a declaration, which the leader of the Fronde long afterwards represented as composed of the finest words in the world, of a few articles of public utility, and a great number very obscure and very ambiguous. The truth, however, was, that the declaration contained everything that was calculated, if not to put a stop to faction for the time, at least to show the factious to be in the wrong. It announced the remission of one fourth of the taxes called *tailles* for the succeeding year, the revocation of a great many imposts upon different kinds of merchandize, the suppression of the twelve new offices of *maitres des requêtes*, the repeal

of the edict of the *lois*, and a number of regulations, as well devised as could be expected from the shortness of time and Mazarin's want of experience in such matters, to prevent speculation and extortion in any of the branches of finance.

The chancellor having announced these great concessions on the part of the government, prohibited the chambers, in the king's name, from proceeding with the assemblies under the decree of union; and also commanded them to return without farther delay to the execution of their ordinary functions and the administration of justice to the subjects of the king. The latter part of this command was important in many respects. It, in the first place, reminded the parliament indirectly of its original purposes and true functions; it also might be considered as a reproach to the various chambers for having neglected so long the multitude of causes which were pending in the courts; and it was calculated, in case of farther negligence, to irritate all the suitors and their relations against that body which refused to administer justice though originally established for that sole purpose, and thus gradually to call public odium upon the party opposed to the court. In this, however, the ministry were unsuccessful, as in almost all their other measures. The parliament, as soon as the king's back was turned, proceeded to examine the declaration which he had left them; and their sole consideration seems to have been,

what objections they could raise against it, and now they might best evade giving obedience to the reasonable commands of the monarch.

The very next day the chambers assembled and recommenced their discussions. The chief president, Matthew Molé, the most intrepid man perhaps that ever lived, who had always hitherto supported with his eloquence and his influence the proceedings of the parliament against the court, now endeavoured to persuade the chambers that the period of their reasonable opposition was over, that they could no longer continue their assemblies, and that it was their duty to follow the orders of the king, and return to the important function of rendering justice to the people, which they had so long abandoned. It was in vain that he did so; it was in vain that the Duke of Orleans came down again to reiterate the king's commands, —those commands were disobeyed. The young magistrates forming the inferior courts found much greater pleasure and amusement in discussing the various questions of policy, in tasting the excitement of faction and intrigue, and in gratifying their vanity by well-turned and high-sounding harangues upon the vices and follies of the court, and the necessity of reforming its abuses, than in plodding through the dull causes of litigious citizens, and weighing in the fine balance of equity the minute interests of suitor and defendant.

It was urged, that justice to the country at large

was much more important than justice to a few individuals. But such specious fallacies would not have blinded the eyes sharpened by self-interest, nor appeased the eager appetite for law of a thousand greedy litigants, except under the particular circumstances of the time. The truth however is, if we may believe the memoirs of the time, that the same spirit which actuated the younger magistracy and the whole bar had, by various causes, been rendered general through the whole city of Paris, and pervaded the suitors just as much as the judges.

Those who originally had come to the halls of the Palais de Justice full of their own individual causes, now flocked thither to hear the discussions upon matters of political importance; each grew a fiery politician as he listened—each filled the outer halls with his own opinions, his own harangues, his own sallies against, or his own jests upon one party or the other; and we have every reason to believe that ere three months of these political dissensions were over, a suitor in any of the courts would have thought it a most importunate interruption if any of the ushers had informed him, that his own cause was called on for hearing.

Such a state of things might probably have been produced by natural causes; but in the present instance it was rendered much more general, and hurried forward to the point at which I have represented it, by artificial means. The powerful

engine which for the next five years gave a peculiar impulsion to the whole course of events was now being busily constructed by one of the greatest and most scientific artificers of dissension that ever troubled the face of the globe. It may be necessary, therefore, here to give some general idea of the first formation of that engine called the Fronde: and we cannot do so better than in making use of the confessions and admissions of De Retz himself; elucidating his own views and purposes by the comments of several of his friends and co-operators, and moderating his account of those to whom he was opposed, by the opinions of others less tinctured with animosity individually, and less imbued in general with gall.

The number of persons whose enmity Mazarin had attracted was, as I have before said, great; but for a considerable time these persons remained scattered abroad without any general bond of union amongst them, and with no one who could give them direction and guidance in carrying forward, upon an organized plan, their operations against the minister they all detested.

Chavigni, the first protector and patron of Mazarin in France, had seen himself not only neglected by the fortunate minister who had risen above his head, but had been obliged to bear the dismissal of his father from office, and his own removal from the post of secretary of state, with Mazarin's connivance at least, if not by his advice. Possess-

ing considerable influence in the parliament, and a great number of relations or attached friends in the various chambers, Chavigni threw himself upon that body for support, and, it is probable, prompted or directed, without seeming to do so, many of its operations against the government of which he was still a member. It would not appear, however, that he attempted to form any party for himself without the walls of the parliament; and it was left for De Retz to endeavour to raise himself to power by obtaining unlimited authority over the populace, by uniting that populace to a strong body in the parliament, and by giving, through the clamours and appeals of the people, the tone and direction which suited his own purposes to the proceedings of the parliament itself. By populace, I mean, not alone the lower classes of all, nor even what was then generally called in France the *classe bourgeoise*; but I wish to include therein all that inferior rank of nobility, which had already multiplied in France in the most extraordinary manner, considering the checks placed upon it,—which was prevented from seeking to obtain a livelihood by any other paths than the church, the army, or the law,—and which was in general daring, reckless, and excitable, by nature, by habit, and by circumstances.

The populace thus composed was the principal material of the engine with which De Retz proposed to work. The party in the parliament united



to it was but a lever added to the machine for the purpose of moving that body against the court; and though it was undoubtedly De Retz's object to give solidity and importance in the eyes of the government itself to his faction, by calling into it such discontented nobles of a higher class and more extensive possessions as their facility of character or want of intellect might render manageable in his hands, yet there is equally no doubt that, by accidental circumstances which he could not control, more and more powerful personages of high rank than he either wished or contemplated at first, were obliged to be courted to the Fronde, although he well knew that they would render the machine less easy to direct.

It may be asked, what was the precise object of De Retz in the plan that he was pursuing; and whether he presented to himself that plan at once as an organized system, or only was driven to it by degrees, in the desultory manner in which he has himself detailed it! The general object of the prelate was undoubtedly to advance himself: there cannot be entertained the slightest doubt that the mainspring of all his actions was ambition. It is true that he had a natural love for faction and intrigue of every kind; and that the vanity of ruling and directing in troublous times had also its share, is equally clear: but that the great purpose, the end and object of all, was self-advancement, few people who consider all his proceedings will doubt.

He had long wished the government of Paris, without having been able to attain it : but that was merely a small part of what he proposed ultimately to arrive at. Feeling within himself talents far more brilliant than those of Mazarin, powers more extended, penetration as acute, if not more so, with the advantages of high race, powerful connexions, and of being born in France, he thought himself every way qualified to compete for the supreme power with a minister whose real talents he undervalued, who was a foreigner by birth, and who was lamentably ignorant of the laws and customs, if not of the character of the French people.\*

It is impossible absolutely to say that he aimed from the first at the office of prime minister, but such is the general conviction left by reading his memoirs. It would appear that his immediate object was, in the beginning of the Fronde, so to shake and disorganize the government then established, as to compel the queen and Mazarin to lean upon him for support, and to admit him to share their power ; or otherwise, to compel Anne of

\* Of his own ignorance of the laws and customs of France, Mazarin was not only well aware, but used to make it, as Madame de Motteville terms it, his shameful excuse for any illegal acts that he committed. From such acts the Chancellor Seguier could have preserved him by his skill and knowledge ; but Seguier had been so terrified at the idea of losing his place when the first changes took place under the regency, that he never ventured to contradict the minister in anything. Of his submission Mazarin often felt the ill effects, and complained loudly.

Austria absolutely to dismiss her minister, and by driving him from France, leave a post vacant which the regent might be naturally inclined to fill in such a manner as to bind to her interests a man who had gained a complete ascendancy over the populace of Paris. Whether he did or did not proceed upon a regular system, may be judged by any one who hears that from the 28th of March to the 25th of August 1648, a period of five months, he expended, by his own account, thirty-six thousand crowns in what he calls alms and liberalities; that he made it a point to cultivate the greatest intimacy with all the inferior clergy of his diocese, entertaining them constantly at his table, and giving up a great portion of his time to men for whom he does not scruple to confess in various places a sovereign contempt, but who ruled the consciences, the purses, and in most instances the passions, of all the commons of Paris; that he kept up a friendly communication in his own person with all the burgesses and city officers, making his paternal character as a bishop a veil for conduct which would otherwise have been considered in those times derogatory to his rank; and that he was constantly surrounded by such persons as St. Ibal, Fontrailles, Montessor, and Laigues;—the two latter of whom he mentions himself in the most lowering terms; and the two former he depicts, from the beginning of his memoirs, as the most unscrupulous incendiaries in France.

He tells us that he had replied, on a former occasion, when one of his friends spoke to him of his debts, "Cæsar at my age owed six times as much;" and he adds, "Monsieur Servien repeated the words to the cardinal. He laughed at them, and he was in the right; but he remarked them, and he was not in the wrong:" evidently implying, that at the very period which he speaks of, the plans for his self-aggrandisement were already in some degree prepared.

He kept up a constant correspondence also with all persons in disgrace at the court: the houses of Vendôme, Montbazou, Chevreuse, were those to which he particularly attached himself; and although he evidently always feared the shrewd good sense and thoughtful policy of the Duke of Bouillon, and could effect little with the homely but determined and intelligent Turenne, yet he took care to keep well with two men whose influence was vast, and whose situation was likely, sooner or later, to place them in open opposition to the government.

The engine having once been put in motion by the events of May 1648, two distinct methods of attack were kept up by the party of the Fronde upon the regent and her minister. One was, by constantly exciting the people, by giving them false impressions in regard to every act of the council, by filling their minds with hatred and contempt for the minister through every sort of libel,

pasquinade, squib, tract, and oration; and by boldly fabricating charges, which, though easily disproved, remained upon the minds of multitudes who never heard the defence, and which even with those who did, left behind a feeling and habit of suspicion very often more detrimental to a minister than open hatred. The other attack was conducted through the parliament; and—as the older and more experienced members of that body were not in general disposed to proceed to violent measures, as they would not suffer themselves to be made the instrument of conveying wild and vehement accusations against the court, or of mingling with just opposition all the party rage, angry declamation, and factious aggression which it was the object of the Fronde to produce—three or four persons were selected to make every violent speech, to support every violent measure, and to rail, or cavil, or sneer at every step which the court took either to gratify or to oppose the parliament.

Some of the most celebrated of these were the President Potier de Blancmesnil, the President Charton, and the Counsellor Broussel; but not less vehement against the court was Violé, the intimate friend of Chavigni and Longueil, to whom La Rochefoucault attributes the task of diffusing the venom of the Fronde with careful art through all the members of the chambers. Gourville calls him "*insigne frondeur*;" and there can be no doubt whatever that he afforded the chief channel of

communication between the parliament and the leaders of the Fronde.

The origin of the name of that celebrated party remains to be noticed.—The boys of the French capital were in the custom of assembling under the walls, and dividing themselves into regular bodies of slingers (*frondeurs*); between which bodies serious engagements used to take place, often producing severe injury to the children themselves, from the deadly nature of the weapon (the *fronde*, or sling), which they were suffered to employ. At length the police were forced to interfere, in order to stop the mischief which daily took place; but the boys contrived to evade their superintendence, dispersing the moment they appeared, and reassembling again the moment after. Some one of the parliamentary orators discovered a similarity between the conduct of the slingers or *frondeurs* under the walls of Paris and the opponents of the court, and applied to the latter that name, by which they were ever after known. People were amused at the comparison; the easily-excited populace of Paris took it up with glee; the *fronde* became the fashion of the day, and from that moment everything, even to small articles of dress, only needed to be called *à la fronde* to render them the mode.

In the mean time, while this great machine was in preparation and lay ready to be brought more fully into action against the court, the minister,

ignorant of the extent and strength of the party opposed to him, but yet conscious that his own danger and that of the state itself were extreme, was placed in a most painful and difficult situation. In judging of the acts of Mazarin at this crisis, we must remember all the disadvantages under which he laboured. In the first place, he was a foreigner, and conscious of ignorance regarding the laws and customs of the people he was called upon to rule: in the next place, he was obliged to rely for his sole support upon the queen,—a woman fearless to the extreme of rashness, and opposed in everything to the yielding policy which he was himself inclined to pursue; while there is also a perfect certainty that not one individual at the court of Anne of Austria, if we except Le Tellier, was disposed to give the minister that counsel and support which might effectually maintain him in power. Madame de Motteville, indeed, makes no exception whatever. She declares that all the courtiers wished and sought his destruction, and says, in speaking of those who advised the cardinal to pursue more vigorous measures against the malcontents, “If that way had been a certain remedy for this evil, they would not have pointed it out; because they all desired his fall, and would have been in despair if he had done what was really necessary to do in order to prevent the misfortunes which might make them hope for it.”

That this was in a degree the case Mazarin was

well aware, and, most probably, in the state of suspicion into which such a consciousness of being generally obnoxious naturally produced, he doubted the sincerity even of those who advised him well. Left to his own judgment alone, then, he seems to have known and appreciated justly the characters of his several opponents, and to have seen the various strong parties formed against him, but not to have seen or known the link which united them together. He saw the parliament as one factious body; he looked upon De Retz and his friends as another nest of demagogues; he feared the house of Vendôme and the rallying bands of the Importants as a third class of malcontents: but he was not aware of how much the parliament was moved by the Fronde, and how completely the sentiments it uttered were the suggestions of the cabal of De Retz; nor did he see that the scattered members of the Importants, in the parliament and the city, formed but a part of the faction of the Fronde, and that their former leaders were soon to be called in to act their parts as puppets in the hands of the turbulent coadjutor.

The mystery of these intrigues was still to be developed; and although in the present day we can trace them with sufficient accuracy from the confessions of a multitude of persons interested therein, it is not at all wonderful that, at the time, Mazarin, notwithstanding all his acuteness, was unable to trace the various ramifications into which the op-



posing faction divided itself, or to discover the fine links of union between various bodies of his adversaries,—links of which they were insensible in many instances themselves. Nor was it more surprising that, although he feared and doubted that the faction of the Importants might again rise up to annoy him, he should miss its connexion with De Retz and with the parliament; for although Laigues, Montessor, and others appeared in close union with the coadjutor, yet that had always been the case, and the influential heads of the party had remained till the middle of the year 1648 either scattered abroad in disgrace with the court, or in prison at Vincennes. On the 1st of June, however, the empty leader of that empty party, who in the hands of the skilful and penetrating archbishop was destined to become of real importance in all the transactions of the time, put in execution a plan for extricating himself from the state of imprisonment in which he had been held for nearly five years, and, to the consternation of his enemies, appeared once more free upon the political scene.

The governor of the castle of Vincennes was Chavigni, to whom Mazarin was under great obligations, which he had but ill repaid : but the Duke de Beaufort had been as much his enemy as Mazarin's, and the cardinal felt sure that the former secretary of state would do nothing to liberate the prisoner. He had taken especial care, however, that the duke should be guarded in his impri-

sonment by people quite independent of the governor of Vincennes, and an officer of the king's body-guard, named Ramée, with six or seven of the guards, slept constantly in his apartments, never losing sight of him. He had none of his own servants in attendance upon him, and no apparent means whatsoever of effecting an escape; but the officer who immediately had charge of him was induced to take into his service, in order to attend personally upon the duke, a man who pretended to be anxious to avoid public observation on account of having killed another in a duel. It is very evident that this person had been put forward by the friends of the prisoner; and though he affected to be more eager for his detention than any one, and even to treat him with insolent rudeness, he was soon upon such terms with the duke as to concert and execute a plan for his deliverance.

The day of Pentecost was chosen as that on which a number of the officers and soldiers would be occupied at the mass; and the Duke of Beaufort, having requested permission of La Ramée to walk in a gallery which overlooked the moat and was considerably lower than his own apartments, proceeded thither, in company with that gentleman alone. The valet pretended to go to dinner with the rest; but, feigning to be taken ill, he quitted the table, and returned towards the gallery, shutting and locking the door upon his companions, as well as several other doors which were between the

gallery and the rest of the building. He then proceeded to join the duke, whom he found walking up and down with the officer of the *gardes-du-corps* ; but as soon as the valet appeared, Beaufort, strong and resolute, threw himself upon his unconscious companion, and with the aid of his accomplice, overpowering him in a moment, gagged his mouth, and tied his hands and feet. Ropes which had been prepared were immediately produced, fastened to the bars of the window, and the prisoner and his valet proceeded to descend towards the moat, the valet going first, according to Beaufort's promise, as the danger in case of detection was of course greater to him than to the prisoner.

In the mean time, five or six men who had been stationed to favour the duke's escape, on the outside of the moat, waited with impatience in the park for the appearance of their lord, and were put to some embarrassment by the arrival of the gardener's wife and son, who came just at the most unfortunate moment to gather herbs in the little garden which had been run along the edge of the moat. Some of Beaufort's attendants, however, issuing forth from their concealment, caught hold of the woman and the boy, and so terrified them by menaces of instant death, that they agreed not to utter a word till the prisoner was in safety ; and a moment after, first the valet, and then the duke, were seen descending by cords from the window of the gallery.

The surprise and consternation of the two, however, were great; when, after letting themselves down a considerable way, they found the ropes to be greatly too short. The valet, whose life was at stake, let himself drop at once, and the duke followed his example; but the height was still great, and the powerful and heavy form of the prisoner fell so sharply upon the edge of the moat as to hurt him severely. The pain caused him to faint, and for some moments again all was suspense and apprehension. At length he revived; and a cord having been thrown to him from the other side of the moat, he was drawn across by his attendants, and, though still suffering, hurried on to a neighbouring wood, where he was met by fifty armed men on horseback. This put his safety beyond all doubt; and springing on a horse that was prepared for him, he galloped away from the neighbourhood of Paris, forgetting all his sufferings in the joy of his deliverance.

News immediately spread both to the court and to Vincennes of the evasion of the Duke of Beaufort; but it was by that time useless to pursue him, and the Queen, we are told, was but little afflicted at the escape of a man who had once stood high in her regard. Mazarin, on the contrary, was terrified, but not at the dangers which were in reality destined to ensue from the flight of the Duke of Beaufort, for he does not in the slightest degree appear to have foreseen them. He did not at all

anticipate that the King of the Markets, as the duke was called, would return to Paris and assume greater influence with the people than ever; or that, ruled himself by De Retz, he would rule the parliament like slaves by the clamour of the mob that he commanded. His apprehensions were either that the duke would proceed into Brittany, where the principal estates and territorial influence of his family lay, and endeavour to seduce that province into revolt; or that he would employ the knife of the assassin to rid himself of the minister who had overthrown his schemes and doomed him to a long confinement.

The Queen and the court treated the fears of Mazarin as they deserved; but in the mean time much more real dangers were springing up, and that most perilous state for a French population was gradually making itself apparent, in which it becomes a mode, a fashion, a distinction, to be at enmity with the government. With nations where the rule of fashion is not so strong, the evil of such a state is not very great; but in a country where no extravagance is too extravagant to become agreeable to the worshippers of fashion, the law of the painted idol has often proved a sanguinary law, and *the mode* has been as much consulted in bloodshed as in rings or snuff-boxes. An instance may be given to show how completely it had become the fashion to oppose the government in everything, and what sacrifices would be made to obtain this kind of celebrity.

Some of the titular treasurers of France, who conceived themselves aggrieved by the proceedings of the court in regard to the retention of part of the salaries, wrote circular letters to their brethren in various parts of the kingdom, exhorting them to unite for the purposes of resistance, and to pay themselves out of the money that passed through their hands. This was so open and illegal an attack upon the royal authority, that five of these personages were arrested and committed to prison: a sixth however, of the name of Frotté, who on some account had been overlooked, but who, it would appear, had drawn up the letter, presented himself immediately to the superintendent of finance, and complained bitterly of having been deprived of the distinction which his fellow treasurers had obtained. The superintendent and the minister suffered this applicant for imprisonment to depart unpunished, treating him as a fool, and his application as folly: but, in reality, such conduct afforded serious and menacing signs of the times, as Mazarin was soon after taught to perceive.

Such was the state of things in Paris in the commencement of August 1648; but a variety of other coincident events rendered the political horizon dark and stormy on every side to which Mazarin could turn his eyes. The spirit of the Fronde had been industriously diffused through the provinces; the local parliaments had caught fire from that of the capital. Every one was ready to oppose the go-

vernment ; every one was willing to resist the payment of taxes and imposts ; every one was making some demand and proposing some change, — demands and changes, sometimes just and reasonable, abstractedly speaking, but dangerous or impossible at that moment, sometimes as frivolous and vexatious as it is in the power of a discontented people to devise. Nor were the external affairs of France more prosperous at that moment. The Prince de Condé had been called to Paris for a short time, in order to give some weight to the councils of the queen ; and the Archduke commanding the Spanish armies in the Low Countries had taken advantage of his absence and obtained several successes, while the French forces remained inactive.

Various domestic occurrences also gave warning that even amongst the courtiers themselves, as well as amongst the people, the authority of the regent and her minister was rapidly declining. The young King, as a great honour to the city of Paris, had proceeded on the eve of St. John to light the annual bonfire in the Place de Grève, in place of the governor of Paris, who usually performed that office ; but little or no gratulations met the youthful monarch in return for his condescension, and the people seemed to imagine that he came more to amuse himself than to do honour to the popular fête. When he proceeded in state to carry down to the parliament a declaration full of concessions, no voice was heard to cry “Long live

the king ;" and shortly afterwards, having gone to vespers at the church of the Feuillans, on the day of the Assumption, a dispute, in regard to who should keep the ground, took place between the guards of the king and the guards of the *grand prévôt*. The captain of the royal guard on duty was applied to by his lieutenant for orders in a moment of difficulty, and gave those orders, which unfortunately ended in bloodshed in the presence of the king himself. Complaints were made by the *grand prévôt*; and the Queen, instigated by Mazarin, declared that the captain of the guard was in the wrong, that to draw a sword in the presence of the king was high treason, and that the prime minister, being present, should have been appealed to in the first instance. She thereupon commanded the captain of the guard to give up his wand of office to one of his comrades. It so happened, however, that the officer who had been on duty was only acting as substitute for his father, the Count de Trêmes, who instantly hastened to the palace, took possession of the wand of office, and refused to give it up, asserting that his son had merely done his duty, had defended the rights of the king's guard, and maintained the dignity of his person by preventing any other guards but his own from occupying a spot where he was present.

There could be no doubt that the count was right; but the real offence given had been in not consulting Mazarin. The Queen persisted that the



rod of office should be given up, and was obeyed; but none of the other officers would take it, or would perform the functions of him whom they believed to be unjustly disgraced. The Queen was met by an instant refusal from every one to whom she applied, and for some time the king was without a captain of the guard altogether. The officers who had refused were immediately dismissed, and their places filled by others: but this event only served the more to divide the court; though it also might have shown Mazarin that the spirit of resistance was up and active through the whole land, and that nothing but the most skilful policy, and the wisest moderation, invigorated by the most resolute firmness, could save him—even if that itself were capable of producing such an effect.

The crisis was now arrived. The court opposed by the parliament in every step, just or unjust; the king's commands not only neglected, but disobeyed, after formal deliberations held upon them; the records of the parliament bearing written on their face so extraordinary a precedent as that afforded by the declaration, that the king's edict should be of no effect, but that the decree of the parliament should stand; the provincial parliaments all equally in opposition to the government; the people of the capital universally disaffected; a strong and enterprising party forming from all classes under a factious, ambitious, fearless, talented leader; the whole court itself, with the exception of the queen

and Le Tellier, opposed to the minister; the royal treasury completely empty; the finances in a state of inextricable confusion; the Spaniards resuming the preponderance they had lost upon the frontier of Flanders, and declaring that they would publish monitories, offering a reward to any one who would give information of where the army of the Prince de Condé was, as they had sought for it for a month in all the places where it ought to have been, without being able to find it:—Such were the circumstances of the times towards the end of the fifth year of Mazarin's ministry; and no one who remarked them could doubt that a moment of more severe struggle still was approaching, which must give him a complete triumph over all his enemies, or hurl him down at once from that height to which he had risen by such a rapid, but silent and unostentatious progress.

The events of the next month, however, are most important, and deserve a separate investigation, as all that had hitherto taken place might be considered as merely the skirmishing of light troops before the commencement of a general battle.

## CHAPTER V.

Conduct of the Duke of Beaufort.—Arrest of his messenger—And its consequences.—News of the victory of Lens arrives.—Conduct and resolution of the Court.—Arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil.—Tumults.—Conduct of De Retz.—The tumult abates towards night.—Conduct of the Court.—Apprehensions and views of De Retz.—Day of the Baricades.

IN the beginning of the month of August, an incident occurred which added fresh elements of discord to those which already existed, and afforded to the parliament a new and far more legitimate cause of remonstrance, — or rather, called into notice an existing abuse which furnished a happy opportunity for protracting the obnoxious assemblies of the chambers.

The Duke of Beaufort, having fled to one of the estates of his father the Duke of Vendôme, received and entertained, with not disinterested hospitality, all persons who were ill disposed towards the court, waiting impatiently till some severe collision between the contending parties in Paris afforded an opening for his return to the capital, in order to lead his friends in their operations against Mazarin.

Creatures of the cardinal were, it is said, sent down into the neighbourhood to act as spies upon the proceedings of the house of Vendôme ; but whenever they were discovered, the Duke of Beaufort employed means not very respectful towards the government to drive them from his vicinity. Following up his purpose, a messenger was despatched by the duke to Paris, for the purpose of offering co-operation on the part of his powerful family in all the movements of the parliament. Information, however, of this design was gained by Mazarin, and the messenger was arrested and conveyed to the Bastile. Although the gates of that prison were generally effectual in stopping the remonstrances or complaints of those who once became its inmates, a petition was presented to the parliament, either falsely or really said to be drawn up by the prisoner, in which he demanded to be set at liberty, or interrogated and judged according to law. This document was presented in the presence of the Duke of Orleans himself; and though the prisoner was removed in haste to Vincennes lest he should be forcibly liberated, the parliament showed a determination to insist upon that great and important law, the basis of all civil freedom, that no man should be arrested without instant notice being given to his natural judges in order to his immediate trial.

The Duke of Orleans proceeded, however, to remonstrate sharply with the parliament on its

disobedience to the last expressed will of the king ; and as he had rendered himself popular with that body by various concessions, he obtained, as a boon, that they should suspend their assemblies till after the middle of August. As soon as the day of the Assumption was passed, the chambers recommenced their deliberations, and being summoned to attend the duke, they persuaded him of the moderation of their designs ; and he, in turn, assured the queen that all would go well. Nevertheless, they still continued to meet. The speeches of various members became more and more inflammatory : Brüssel, one of the counsellors of the great chamber, Charton and Blancmesnil, presidents, distinguished themselves from the rest by the violence of their counsels and the disrespectful virulence of their language, and measures more and more severe were evidently upon the eve of being taken against the court, when, on the 20th, a rumour spread through Paris of a great and decisive victory having been gained by the Prince de Condé over the Spanish army commanded by the archduke in person. The rumour, as usual, came before any definite tidings : but, shortly after, the Duke de Chatillon arrived in haste, bringing with him full accounts of the battle of Lens, at which he had been present, and showing that Condé had once more given the Spaniards a defeat as signal and complete as that of Rocroi.

The spirits of the queen and her friends imme-

diately rose; and all regarded the victory, less as affecting the relative position of France and her enemies, than as affecting the situation of the government and the parliament. When the tidings were told to the young King, he exclaimed, "How mortified the parliament will be!"—showing clearly that he had been industriously taught to consider the proceedings of that body, not as directed against the minister, or even against the government of his mother, but as against the tranquillity of France in general, and the feelings and purposes of the whole corps of magistrates to be such as even to render a victory over the enemies of the country painful and unpalatable to them. The same undoubtedly was the view of the queen, whose determined nature and arbitrary principles led her to imagine the slightest resistance to her authority an act, approaching almost to treason. That she had yielded so far as she had done, was entirely to be attributed to the persuasions of the mild and pacific Mazarin: but even the minister had by this time become convinced that concessions to the parliament only led to fresh demands, and that a moment had arrived when decided measures of severity were absolutely requisite.

The Queen gladly availed herself of this change in his views; the Duke of Orleans was brought to coincide in opinion with the cardinal and the queen, and after various councils it was determined to arrest Charton, Blancmesnil, and Broussel, the

three most conspicuous opponents of the government. This being determined, the arrangements were soon made for carrying the proposed measures into effect; but we cannot say that those arrangements were such as prudence absolutely required. The number of troops in Paris was very small, and no means were taken to increase that force, so as to render it sufficient to overawe the disaffected, and put down opposition at its commencement. In other respects the plan was arranged with some skill, and Mazarin, who was a great master in the art of covering his designs, affected to be anything but elevated by the victory of Lens.

Chavigni was the only person who appeared to divine the nature of the minister's feelings, and to anticipate his movements. He indicated them, indeed, with sufficient accuracy to De Retz, to induce that prelate to go to the palace, in order to ascertain by his own observation what were the purposes of the minister; but Mazarin was upon his guard, and deceived even the keen-sighted coadjutor himself, who left him satisfied that the success of the royal army in the field had served to moderate rather than to exaggerate the feelings of the court towards the parliament.

The day of St. Louis, the 25th of August, passed over in peace, and no indication of any immediate movement on the part of the court alarmed the popular party. The following day, however, had

been appointed for celebrating a *Te Deum* in the cathedral for the victory just obtained, and early in the morning the streets from Notre Dame to the Palais Royal were lined with soldiers, according to invariable custom. Nothing appeared to cause any apprehension, and the principal members of the parliament, as well as the whole court, were present in the cathedral. The Queen, however, had previously given her orders to Comminges, lieutenant of her guards, and as soon as the ceremony was concluded, and the royal family prepared to return to the palace, she whispered to that officer, "Go, and God give you aid!"

Comminges suffered the royal party to depart, lingering in the porch of Notre Dame, in order to give time for the arrangements he had previously made to be executed. To arrest Blancmesnil he had deputed one of the exempts, and had sent another to perform the same function in regard to Charton; but the capture of Broussel he reserved for himself, as more dangerous and important. The two former, indeed, were personages of much higher station and fortune; for Broussel was poor, not highly esteemed in his profession, and had gone on to a very advanced age without rising above the rank of counsellor to the great chamber. He was a man of strict integrity however, and of stern democratic principles: and with views too narrow to perceive that the age and country in which he lived were not adapted to their pro-



mulgation, he continued to put them forth on every occasion. This was the man on whom the Frondeurs had fixed to announce everything that was wild, rash, harsh, or turbulent, which they might think necessary to intimidate or to rule the court. There was nothing which Broussel scrupled to say, —no proposal too rash, no measure too violent for him to advocate. But he had thus, of course, obtained the love and affection of an oppressed and suffering people. The enmity of the court was incurred on their account, all his zeal was for their service; his poverty was a proof of his disinterestedness, his unflinching courage of his virtue; and fine but borrowed words, a fluent tongue, and the white hair of age were easily construed into wisdom. The people called him their father; but the more wise and temperate of all parties compared him to one of those tribunes of the people, who often without talent, and still oftener without respectability, ruled so long and so potently the mobs of ancient Rome.

Comminges well knew that, in all probability, great danger as well as great odium would be attached to the arrest of Broussel, and, as we have said, he determined to reserve that task for himself. He had directed the guards to be drawn up in three battalions, which remained upon the Pont Neuf and in the Place Dauphine, while his exempts at once proceeded to arrest Blancmesnil and Char-ton; the former of whom was taken without any difficulty. The appearance, however, of the queen's

guard lingering at the door of Notre Dame, the line of soldiers forming themselves into battalions in the neighbourhood, with various other indications of something more than ordinary, had caused a degree of apprehension which spread rapidly amongst all the members of the parliament who had assisted at the *Té Deum*, and who, struck with immediate panic, began to hurry away so fast that the doors of the cathedral were too few to give them exit.

The tidings reached Charton, with a hint to provide for his safety, and ere the exempt reached his house, he had made his escape. In the mean while, Comminges, accompanied by one page only, proceeded to the street in which Broussel lived, in the immediate neighbourhood of Notre Dame. He had previously sent forward his carriage, however, with a small party of the guards, ordering them, as soon as they saw him enter the street on foot and approach a house therein, to draw up to the door, and prepare to give him assistance if needful. He gave orders, also, for the large heavy coverings of wood and leather, which at that time closed in the sides of a carriage so as to prevent any one within from seeing or being seen, to be kept down, in order that if attacked, as he felt sure he should be, he might have a view of his assailants, and the opportunity of defending himself.

All these arrangements were executed promptly

and punctually, and having reached the house of the old counsellor, he knocked at the door, which was immediately opened by a little lackey. Comminges placed two guards to keep the door, and then, followed by two others, ran up stairs to the chamber in which Broussel was seated at dinner. To him the officer at once announced that he had an order for his arrest; and Comminges afterwards declared, that notwithstanding all the boldness which Broussel usually displayed, he now showed no slight apprehension, making various excuses in order to gain time; while an old woman, said to be the only female servant in the house, began screaming from the windows for aid, shouting to the neighbours the event that had taken place, and mingling the whole with abuse of Comminges, and with intimations that the people would not suffer him to execute his orders. Her cries, indeed, soon filled the street with people, who attempted to cut the traces of the carriage, but were prevented by the gallant defence made by the guards, and by the officer's little page, who displayed extraordinary courage and coolness through the whole affair.

In the mean while, Comminges himself insisted upon Broussel following him immediately; and, threatening to kill him if he resisted, he forced him down the stairs and into the carriage, notwithstanding the resistance of the people. Nevertheless, the cry went forth from mouth to mouth, and travelled on upon the way which Comminges was

following, faster than his slow carriage could proceed; chains were drawn across the streets, barriers raised to impede his progress, and the drivers were obliged to turn hither and thither through such by-streets as had not been rendered impassable, in order to proceed at all.

At length, opposite the house of the chief president, in endeavouring to make its way along the quay the carriage was overturned and broke to pieces. Luckily for Comminges, however, it happened that a battalion of the guards was near, and came to his assistance. The guards surrounded the officer and his prisoner; the people surrounded the guards; but the soldiers behaved with patience and moderation, and a carriage conveying some ladies having been stopped in the midst of the crowd for the service of the king, its denizens were turned out, and Comminges and Broussel placed therein, in order to proceed upon their way. His own carriage remained upon the spot, and in a very short time not a piece of it was left together. In the Rue St. Honoré the new carriage broke down; but it luckily so happened that at that very spot the lieutenant of the guard was met by another vehicle, which the foresight of his uncle Guitaut, who was also his superior officer, had sent forward to be ready in case of need.

No other accident occurred, and Comminges then carried his prisoner safely out of Paris: but the events of the day were only just commencing

when that part thereof was executed. The news that Broussel and another member of the parliament were arrested spread through Paris in every direction. The lower orders poured forth from the manufactory, the workshop, and the booth, excited to fury by the imprisonment of one whom they looked upon as their defender and father; and the more respectable citizens, equally enraged with the artisans, but more cautious in their anger, poured forth likewise, with weapons in their hands, declaring that they were driven to take arms in defence of their lives and property, exposed to the fury of the rabble by the rash measures of the government.

To the parliament itself, and to the archbishopric, the news was also carried; and while the magistracy assembled to take counsel, De Retz issued forth into the streets, clothed in his archiepiscopal dress, in order to proceed to the palace, determined, he says, to place himself at the side of the regent, and do his duty, notwithstanding the imposition which had been put upon him in regard to the intentions of the court. The particulars of his conduct during that day are related differently by different people, but the principal facts are the same; and in regard to his motives, Madame de Motteville, attached as she was to the other party, and viewing the conduct of the coadjutor from an opposite point, forms nearly the same opinion concerning them which any one would form from

reading the memoirs of De Retz himself, though those memoirs were not published till long after her death.

"Perhaps," she says, examining the views of the coadjutor with much simple shrewdness,—“Perhaps he acted with good faith in this business; because, as his desire was solely to have a share in great affairs by any means that might be, if by those means he could get into the good graces of the queen and render himself necessary to the state, his ambition being thus satisfied, he would not have taken any other.” We shall, therefore, very nearly follow his own account of his proceedings during that eventful day in which he acted so conspicuous a part. Having quitted the lesser archbishopric, accompanied by several attendants, he proceeded towards the Palais Royal, met at the very door of his dwelling by an immense crowd of people, howling rather than crying for the liberty of Broussel.

On the Pont Neuf he found the Maréchal de Meilleraie, at the head of the guards, endeavouring to restrain the people, who were assailing him and his soldiers with stones. The multitudes were increasing every moment, and Meilleraie, who saw that with the handful of troops which he had under his command, it would be impossible to stem the torrent much longer, besought the archbishop coadjutor to let the queen know the truth, offering to go with him to the Palais Royal for that purpose. De Retz received the proposal with joy,

and, accompanied by the general, proceeded to the palace, where they were immediately admitted to the regent's presence.

The queen, however, could not be brought to believe that the evil had arrived at the point which the coadjutor and De Meilleraie wished to persuade her it had attained. De Meilleraie, having spoken first, appealed to the coadjutor, who rendered full justice to his accuracy, and likewise described the excited state of the people. The queen still, however, was incredulous; and it is more than probable she was already persuaded that De Retz had taken means, as he passed along the streets, rather to inflame the passions of the multitude than to allay them. The report that such had been the case was very general at the time; and even Joly declares that the coadjutor went through the crowd bestowing his benediction upon the people, and exhorting them to peace and tranquillity in terms the most likely on earth to have an effect directly contrary to that which the bare words seem to imply. However that may be, Anne of Austria certainly did not judge favourably of his motives, and treated him in a manner which naturally irritated him to a great degree.

Mazarin, on the contrary, attempted to soften matters, labouring to cajole the coadjutor, and to prevent the queen from displaying too plainly the sentiments which the court entertained towards him. "Every one in the room," says De Retz

himself, "was acting a part. I was playing the innocent; which I certainly was not, at least in this point: the cardinal was playing the courageous; which he was not so much as he seemed: from time to time the queen affected the sweet; and she was never more sour: the Duke de Longueville appeared sad; and felt, in truth, considerable joy, because of all men in the world he the most loved the commencement of all pieces of business: the Duke of Orleans acted the energetic and impassioned in speaking to the queen; yet I have never seen him whistle with greater indifference than he whistled for half an hour while gossiping with Guerchi in the little gray chamber: Marshal Villeroy acted the gay, to pay his court to the minister; and he confessed to me in private with the tears in his eyes, that the state was upon the brink of a precipice. Beautru and Nogent acted the buffoon, and represented, to please the queen, the nurse of old Broussel, (remark, I beg, that he was eighty years old,) animating the people to sedition; although they both very well knew that the tragedy was likely not to be far off from the farce."

In the midst of this comedy, the lieutenant-colonel of the guards appeared, to inform the queen that the mob threatened to force the guard. Thereupon De Meilleraie, mortified at the reception which his information had met with, suddenly changed his tone, and exclaiming, "It were better to die than suffer such insolence," he begged to



be permitted to take the guards, the officers of the household, and all the courtiers who were in the ante-chambers, in order to make one great effort to put down the mob at once.

The queen, who was herself incapable of fear, was very willing to grant him permission ; but no other person approved the proposal, and at that moment Seguier, the chancellor, entered the room, and gave such a description of what he had seen in the streets, that Mazarin, of whom he stood in the greatest awe, and who had never heard him boldly tell the truth before, became convinced that the danger must be extreme, from the hardihood with which it had so suddenly inspired the supple and subservient chancellor. Others however coming in, effaced the impression, and what to be done was again discussed.

De Retz strongly advised the queen to yield Broussel to the people ; but she declared that she would rather strangle him with her own hands. There were not wanting others, too, who advised her to have the demagogue immediately put to death.\* But at length, the entrance of the civil lieutenant, with a mortal paleness in his face, and all the signs and symptoms of the most dastardly fear in his demeanour, communicated that infectious disease to the cardinal, and even to the queen ; so that at length it was determined, in order to gain time, to send out De Retz and the Maréchal de

\* Madame de Motteville.

Meilleraie for the purpose of telling the people, that if they would separate, and not continue to demand the liberty of Broussel in crowds, the queen would grant it to them.

De Retz, who perceived that no real intention was entertained of giving up the prisoner, requested the queen to furnish him with a promise to that effect under her hand, that he might display it to the populace: but his demand was evaded, and he was assured that the queen's word was better than all the writings in the world. The queen then quitted the room; the Duke of Orleans pushed De Retz gently towards the door with his two hands, beseeching him to restore tranquillity to the state; De Meilleraie dragged him forward; all the gardes-du-corps carried him lovingly in their arms, crying, "There is no one but you who can remedy the evil:" and thus he was driven out, to promise the people, in the name of the queen, a concession which he well knew was not likely to be granted.

Between the chamber where the coadjutor had received his audience and the court, De Meilleraie left him, and giving way to his impetuous nature, put himself at the head of the light horse of the guard, and rode forward towards the people with his sword drawn, crying, "Long live the King! liberty for Broussel!"

As he was seen in this attitude by a great many more persons than could hear his voice, the populace naturally concluded that they were about to

be charged by the light horse, and a porter suddenly drew a sword and attacked De Meilleraie, who in return shot him with a pistol. The people recoiled, and the marshal, with his blood up, pushed them on down the street to the famous place of execution called the Croix du Trahoir. De Retz, coming out of the palace, found a multitude of people in the rear of De Meilleraie, and the unfortunate porter stretched dying in the midst of the street. The pontifical robes of the coadjutor gained for him respect and attention for a time; and he was immediately surrounded by the crowd, with whom his popularity was immense, and was carried by them onward towards the place where De Meilleraie was contending with the rest of the mob. Never forgetful, however, of performing any act which might dazzle and astonish the multitude, De Retz paused at the dying man, and kneeling down beside him in the gutter, received his confession in the midst of the street.\*

Hurrying up to the spot where De Meilleraie, now brought to a halt, was surrounded by a crowd of armed burghers, upon whom the light horse were firing from time to time, De Retz endeavoured to interpose between the two bodies, and not without success. For a moment or two both parties ceased firing; but a number of other crowds coming down the cross streets, without seeing or recognising

\* Guy Joly.

De Retz, made a sudden discharge upon the light horse, both with fire-arms and stones.

One of De Meilleraie's officers was wounded, as well as one of the pages of the coadjutor, by musket-shots; and De Retz himself was brought to the ground by the blow of a stone just above the ear. As he was rising, one of the mob pointed a gun at his head; but the archbishop, whose presence of mind had not left him, exclaimed, although he had never beheld the man before, "Ah, wretch! if your father saw you!" The man paused, imagining that he had nearly killed his father's best friend, and looking at him more closely, beheld the episcopal robes of the prelate. The name of De Retz was now shouted forth aloud; a thousand voices took up the same cry; a multitude gathered round the spot where he stood; others, seeing the direction which their neighbours followed, flocked after him also; and De Meilleraie, finding his opponents diverted from their attack upon him, made the best of his way back to the Palais Royal. De Retz, in the mean while, led the people in another direction, and, by all those arts which he knew so well how to practise, he at length persuaded the multitude to lay down their arms, and follow him peaceably back to the Palais Royal, in order to demand in more respectful terms the liberty of him whom they considered as a victim to despotic power.

The queen and her courtiers, believing all danger

to be over, merely laughed at the application, with the exception of the Maréchal de Meilleraie, who strongly joined his voice to that of the coadjutor; but the news that the mob was unarmed was quite sufficient to satisfy the regent, and De Retz was sent back without an answer. As his natural inclination led him towards faction, and the playthings of his imagination from childhood had been revolts and conspiracies, it is probable that he was not displeased, as soon as it became evident that his services were despised by the government, to see that the regent and her advisers pushed their measures to such an extreme as to give him a fair excuse for putting himself at the head of the popular party. He declares, that though undoubtedly angry at the treatment he had received, he left the palace with the intention of still doing nothing contrary to the dictates of gratitude towards the regent, who had bestowed upon him the dignity he held in Paris. He once<sup>s</sup> more harangued the people, and besought them to retire; but the hour of supper coming on, operated more powerfully, according to his own confession, than all his exhortations. Group after group disappeared from the streets, the shouts died away, the turbulent lost the support of the multitude, and ere night the French capital was as tranquil as if nothing had happened.

The court from time to time received news of what was passing; but many, of whom the Maréchal

de Meilleraie was one, could not believe that the predictions of the queen and the hopes of the cardinal were really verified, till they had been out into the streets and found them perfectly peaceful. The courage of the timid rose, the resolution of the more daring was confirmed, and Mazarin and the Queen, believing that they were now on the right track to recover the authority which weaker measures had lost, prepared to proceed, and, while the impression was still strong, to crush the opposition of the parliament, as they had triumphed over the ebullition of popular indignation. It is by no means impossible that they might have been successful, had not accidental circumstances led the coadjutor to believe that the purposes of the court were directly hostile towards himself.

De Retz, who in consequence of the irregularity of his life was in bad health when these events took place, had returned to the lesser archbishopric completely exhausted, and so much hurt by the blow he had received, that he found it necessary to be bled. From time to time during the evening, however, a number of his friends came to him, bringing him news of what was passing at the palace: but, as many of these friends, though admitted to the circle of the queen, were suspected on account of their attachment to De Retz, it is probable that they obtained no greater knowledge of what was passing than that which they gathered from the ordinary conversation of the court.

The first news that reached the coadjutor was, that he was turned into ridicule, that Beautru and Nogent were amusing the queen at his expense; next came the tidings that all he had<sup>d</sup> done had been misinterpreted, and that the court was perfectly convinced he had both excited in the first instance, and prolonged in the second, the tumults which he affected to appease. At length, when irritated to the highest pitch by this information, and about to retire to bed to digest it as well as he could, Argenteuil, who had been long attached to the Count de Soissons, came to him direct from the court, and informed him that all the world there were mad with exultation; that the cardinal and the queen, thinking that the way was open before them, were determined to use their advantage to the utmost. Argenteuil bore him also a message from the Maréchal de Meilleraie, which confirmed this account, and which exhorted him to provide for his personal security as fast as possible by flight; telling him it was clear that the first indignation of the court would fall upon him, and that it had been already proposed to send him to prison at Quimper Corentin, in the very depths of Brittany. At the same time, it was notified to him that Broussel was to be sent to Havre-de-Grace, and that the parliament itself was to be interdicted, and exiled in a body to Montargis.

Such is De Retz's own account of the information

he received, and on which he proceeded to act. It has never been contradicted; but whether he may not have heightened the colouring, and in some degree exaggerated the representations made to him by his friends, in order to justify his after conduct, may in some degree be doubted. The news, however, which was conveyed to him was not very far distant from the truth; though I have not been able to discover that the queen or Mazarin had any real design against the person of the coadjutor.

Although such information came upon him suddenly and took him by surprise, it relieved him from doubt, and he determined at once to show the court the extent of that power, by using it against the government, which the government had neglected to engage in its own support.

On hearing the tidings borne to him by Argen-teuil, Montessor and Laigues, who were with him, reproached him for not following earlier their advice in regard to adopting vigorous measures against the court, seeming to think that his hour of power was past, and that he could now only be an object of pity in the persecutions to which his weakness and indecision had exposed him. De Retz, however, requested to be left alone for a quarter of an hour, giving his friends to understand that their pity was not yet deserved; and on their return, they found that he had arranged a plan for not only opposing whatever measures the queen and



the cardinal might take in the course which they were then pursuing, but might force them, by popular violence, to resign every advantage which they thought they had obtained by their late stroke of authority.

That plan was founded upon De Retz's intimate acquaintance with the feelings and views of the whole population of Paris; which acquaintance did not alone extend to the knowledge that such and such classes were divided between different political opinions, and that the preponderance lay in this or that direction, but he knew precisely who were the most influential men in all the parties of all the classes; and amongst each class he had his own devoted agents, ready to convey to the people whatever sentiments he chose to inspire, to spread any rumours or tidings that he thought fit to invent or propagate, and to excite to any act that he pleased to dictate.

Setting aside the nobility and their retainers, the citizens of Paris may be divided into two classes, the burghers and the artisans. The latter were almost universally, as was natural, opposed to the court, hating it and the minister with a blind antipathy, believing everything that was told them against the government, seeking eagerly for any change, and ready, both from real sufferings and imaginary grievances, to commit any act that gave them the chance of amelioration. With more prudence, with greater selfishness, but with juster

reasons, the minds of the burgher classes (*black mantles*, as De Retz calls them) were equally disposed to oppose the regent and her minister. They were perfectly well inclined, in general, to see that minister overthrown by any political convulsion or popular ebullition, with but one proviso,—that their own property and comforts should not in the slightest degree be sacrificed.

Nothing was necessary, therefore, but to show them the means of securing their dwellings, their goods and their families, in order to render them willing to countenance and assist in any insurrectionary movement which might produce a change, if not a reform, in the state. So long as the minister enjoyed full command of all the royal authority—so long as the first steps taken by the parliament had left his power unabated—so long as he had even avoided a crisis which committed the great body of the magistracy to support and justify every person in the strongest opposition to the court,—so long the burghers of Paris might each anticipate some evil effects from any very violent demonstration of hostility towards Mazarin. They had therefore, as a mass, affected a great degree of moderation; and we are told by Joly that the queen and the cardinal were fully convinced the middle classes of Paris were well disposed towards the government.\*

\* Anquetil takes a different view of the state of this class, declaring that but few of the middle classes were attached to De Retz or to his partisans, and that the great part were

Such was anything but the case, however, as De Retz well knew; and he now prepared not only to point out to them how the security of their property might be united with vigorous resistance to the government and a general popular movement, but also to supply them, as well as the lower classes, with fresh incentives to insurrection by the rumours which he caused to be spread. Having sent for some of the principal persons in whom he could trust to influence the citizens, he informed them that the queen and her minister had determined, early on the following morning, to make a display of the royal authority which might well dismay every lover of his country; and he immediately arranged with them a general plan for keeping a wary eye upon the movements of the court, for calling the people to arms upon the slightest alarm, and for rendering resistance effectual by turning every street into a fortified defile.

The friends and relations of Broussel, Charton, and Blancmesnil exerted themselves at the same time to rouse the people to resistance; and the plan devised by De Retz was so well executed, that

willing to maintain the royal authority. Whence he derived this opinion I do not know; but the account of Joly, of De Retz himself, of Madame de Motteville, and of a number of other contemporaries, is directly against him; while it appears to me that even were such not the case, we might come to the same conclusion, inasmuch as the whole scene of the barricades and the events of the 27th of August could hardly have taken place without the connivance and assistance of the middle classes.

before dawn on the following morning more than four hundred of the most respectable citizens of Paris had been arranged in groups, in the principal parts of the town, for the purpose of watching the movements of the court. They were without arms; but other bodies, composed of inferior classes, and led by friends of De Retz, were held in ambush, ready to seize upon particular posts on the first alarm, and erect barricades against the troops of the royal household. Everything having been thus arranged—with the principal tradesmen ready to take arms, and, while defending their own property, to secure the general safety of the city,—with the artisans prepared to pour forth and attack the royal troops or fight at the barricades; and with the materials for forming those barricades themselves collected near the spots where they were to be raised,—the people of Paris waited in a solemn calm for the first movement which was to call down the threatening storm.

In the mean time, according to the decision of a council held at the Palais Royal the night before, the chancellor Seguier prepared to proceed in state to the Palais de Justice as early as possible in the morning. What was the real purpose for which he was sent thither still remains a matter of doubt. It is probable, however, that it was, as De Retz had been informed, to forbid the parliament from assembling with the other chambers any more, and in case of an appearance of resistance, to exile it to

**Montargis.** That the mission with which he was charged was of a severe and arbitrary nature, may be inferred from the danger which he evidently anticipated in its execution.

Supple and fawning as Seguier had always shown himself towards Mazarin, alarmed at the least appearance of his favour diminishing, and in continual terror lest Châteauneuf should snatch the seals from his possession, the chancellor was nevertheless personally courageous, and felt far less fear of losing his life than his place. He knew that the task he had to perform was one of imminent danger, that he had many personal enemies, that the public mind was exasperated to a high degree, and that he was very likely to be torn to pieces before he reached the halls of the parliament. Nevertheless, he determined without the slightest hesitation or resistance to undertake the dangerous task proposed to him; and at five o'clock in the morning, by which early hour the parliament had assembled, everything was prepared at his house to set out.

His friends and family were as well aware as he was of the risk that he ran: his brother, the Bishop of Meaux, insisted upon accompanying him; and his daughter, the Duchess of Sully, young, beautiful, and courageous, threw herself into her father's carriage, and refused, notwithstanding all his entreaties, to quit it, till she had accompanied him to the parliament, and had seen him return in

safety. It had been already notified to him that groups of people had assembled at different points of the way to the Pont Neuf, and the Maréchal de Meilleraie had despatched a few parties of light horse to reconnoitre.

All was perfectly quiet, however; the burghers maintained their stations in silence, the soldiery did not attempt to dislodge them, and the chancellor, beginning his procession, met with no great opposition till he arrived upon the Pont Neuf.\* In the mean while, two companies of Swiss advanced from the Faubourg, towards the Porte de Nesle: and at that moment, the train laid on the night before was fired.

The Swiss were attacked by a band of men under the command of Argenteuil, who had been stationed there on purpose by De Retz, and who now concealed a form well known at the court under the garb of a common mason. The soldiers, taken by surprise, were dispersed in a moment, with the loss of several killed and wounded; the tocsin began to sound, the drum beat to arms in all the different quarters of

\* My account will be found to be very different from that of Anquetil, who took his apparently from the Memoirs of Guy Joly. I have, on the contrary, preferred the statement of Madame de Motteville in this instance, because Joly has confused, in his narrative of the proceedings of these two days, various events in such a manner as to show that he was not accurately informed in regard to this period of the Fronde, and also because Madame de Motteville had her account from the chancellor himself.

the city; the burghers poured forth and lined the streets; the artisans, all armed with whatever implements they could find, rushed forward to raise barricades; and the carriage of the chancellor was soon surrounded by people who began to assail him with stones, and with the most virulent abuse. Finding the mob increasing every moment, he ordered his coachman, instead of turning through the narrow streets which lead from the Pont Neuf to the Palais de Justice, to cross over to the Quai des Augustins, and go on to the Hotel de Luisnes, where he intended to leave his carriage and his family, and to proceed on foot by the Pont Notre Dame, trusting that the substantial burghers whom he saw already lining the streets would not suffer him to be massacred before their eyes.

On his approach to the Hotel de Luisnes, the crowd had in some degree dispersed, or gone in other directions; and he had already left his carriage in the court-yard and taken several steps on foot, when he was met by a still more furious mob than before, who instantly attacked him with the most vehement threats, and he was forced to return to the hotel, flying actually for his life. His pursuers were close at his heels; but before they could force the gates, he had been led, together with his daughter and brother, to a place of concealment, by an old woman, who at that early hour was the only person up in the Hotel de Luisnes.

As was frequently the case in old French houses,

some of the chambers had small slips, like closets, taken off them, and separated from the room of which they really formed part by a wooden partition. One of these in the Hotel de Luisnes was apparently so contrived as not to let the door between the two be apparent; and in this narrow chamber the chancellor, the Bishop of Meaux, and the beautiful Duchess de Sully awaited their fate, while the sound of the populace forcing their way into the house, and running from room to room eager for their blood, reached their ears through the thin frail boards, which were the only barriers between them and death. The mob entered the room, and even struck the wainscot to ascertain if any place of concealment lay beyond. The chancellor at that moment felt all the agony of death but the last pang, and, turning his thoughts to another world, made confession to his brother and prepared to die.

The crowd quitted the hall the next moment, however, some vowing, if they found him, that they would keep him to exchange against Broussel, but the greater part declaring that he should be put instantly to death; while the more furious still, proposed to quarter him on the spot, and to hang his bleeding limbs in the public places as a warning to the government. Pillaging as they went, they proceeded through the house; and we are told, that, disappointed of finding their victim, yet certain that he had entered that dwelling, they were about



to set the building on fire, when the timely arrival of the Maréchal de Meilleraie, at the head of a considerable body of troops, rescued the chancellor and his family from the imminent peril to which they were exposed.

The news of his danger had also reached the ears of his relation Aubrai, the civil lieutenant, who had instantly prepared a carriage, and hurried to assist him, accompanied by a number of the officers of justice. The chancellor, his brother, and daughter were immediately placed in the vehicle; and, surrounded by the police, with the guards bringing up the rear, they hastened as fast as they could towards the Palais Royal, seeing the crowd increasing around them, and an inclination to attack them in their retreat becoming every moment more manifest.

Whether Meilleraie perceived that the people would not suffer the carriage to proceed without force—whether, indignant at the insults they received as they proceeded, he lost command of his temper, which was at all times somewhat ungovernable,—or whether the people actually commenced the first attack,—it is impossible to ascertain amongst conflicting accounts. Certain it is, however, that the soldiery and the people mutually fired upon each other as the carriage crossed the Place Dauphine; and it would appear, indeed, from the fact of the insurgents firing from the upper windows, that they had predetermined to

make a great effort to stop the carriage at that spot.

Joly declares that the Maréchal de Meilleraie himself, in the first instance, turned round and killed an old woman with a pistol-shot: but Joly was too furious and inveterate a partisan to be relied upon in regard to such events, and all that is certain is, that several persons were killed and wounded on both sides, that one of the exempts of the court was shot at the back of the carriage, and that a ball, the force of which was fortunately lessened by passing through the side of the vehicle, slightly wounded the heroic Duchess of Sully. The terrified party proceeded to the Palais Royal as fast as possible; and Meilleraie with the greatest difficulty extricated his troops from the increasing crowds of people, and prepared to defend the palace, which was each moment threatened with attack.

From every quarter of the city, from the suburbs—even from the country round, the people were pouring in towards the Place St. Honoré. Butchers and boatmen, tanners, printers, wine-coopers, sawers of wood, and gardeners, but principally masons and sellers of charcoal, with a multitude of the disaffected of the higher classes, disguised in habiliments similar to their own, and giving them counsel, direction, and assistance, were now to be seen labouring to raise barricades in all the principal streets. Chains were drawn across; and carts

and carriages overturned, while barrels filled with dirt and sand, large logs of wood, woolpacks, and bales of merchandise, were piled up as breastworks against the soldiery. Arms of every sort and kind,—the modern musketoon and carbine, the pike, the sword, the halbert, lances that had seen the French and English contest for the French crown, and gorgets which had been sanctified in the times of the league by the image of Jacques Clément,—made their appearance in the streets, drawn forth from places where they had lain concealed during more peaceable times, once more to act their part in scenes of faction and civil war. More than two hundred barricades were raised in the space of two hours; and floating above these were displayed the banners of different companies, and flags which should only have been carried forth in the service of the king.

Although some degree of resistance, perhaps, had been anticipated by the court, this extraordinary ebullition of popular indignation, the sudden and simultaneous rising of the whole people of Paris, and the regular state of organisation and preparation which all their proceedings manifested, revived with double force the apprehensions of the former day, and even caused some degree of terror in the queen herself. She had slept tranquilly, indeed, while the storm was gathering round her; and when, at nine o'clock, she at length awoke, it was to hear that the whole city was in actual

revolt. The first thing that struck her, we are told, was the evil effect which such an event would have upon the relations of France with foreign courts, and especially upon the treaties then in progress at Munster and Osnabruck.

When the queen heard all the facts, she seems instantly to have divined, with a degree of acuteness which does honour to her political discrimination, whose was the hand which had so completely organised the movements of the people; and she instantly sent for De Retz, in order, if possible, to induce him to undo the evil that he had done. At first, it would appear, he had determined to affect illness, and kept his bed; but a misunderstanding between two of his agents, which brought them to open blows in the Rue Neuve Notre Dame, obliged him to go out to prevent petty uproars from dividing the general tumult, and he had just re-entered the archbishopric when the queen's messenger arrived.

That messenger besought De Retz, and commanded him, in the queen's name, to go forth and endeavour to allay the passions of the people; but he replied coldly, that it was impossible for him to do so, as the part which the court had obliged him to take in the business of the preceding day had rendered him so obnoxious to the people, that he had that very morning run much risk in showing himself for a moment. He added a thousand formal speeches, expressive of his respect for and devotion

to the queen, which the messenger well knew to be false, as well as the reasons he assigned for not attempting to calm the sedition; and on this occasion De Retz makes that most true and eloquent observation, "The favourites of the last two centuries knew not what they did, when they reduced the active affection which kings ought to have for their subjects into a matter of mere words. There are conjunctures, as you may see, in which, by a necessary consequence, men reduce the active obedience which they owe to their kings, into a matter of mere words also." He resisted all persuasions, and the messenger returned unsatisfied.

In the meanwhile, a still more important scene was enacting within the walls of the Palace of Justice. The parliament had assembled there, as we have seen, at a very early hour in the morning, for the purpose of taking into consideration the steps necessary to be adopted in consequence of the arrest of their brethren. The tumult which took place around them was of course soon known within the walls of the chambers, and every step of the insurrection was reported as it proceeded. Those who, when they first assembled there in the morning, were terrified at the sudden vigour of the court, and dismayed at seeing themselves abandoned by the people on the preceding night, now became the most vehement and eager in their declamations against the government, seeing themselves

supported by the populace in so daring, well-organized, and successful a manner.

The most extreme resolutions were proposed, and, after some debate, it was determined that the whole body of the parliament should proceed on foot to the palace, and demand that the imprisoned members should be immediately set at liberty: that a warrant should be issued for the apprehension of Comminges, the lieutenant of the queen's guards, who had arrested Broussel; that a decree should be pronounced, forbidding all military men for the future from undertaking such commissions on pain of death; and that formal informations should be laid against those who had advised the late acts of the government, as disturbers of the public peace. The resolution of going in procession to the palace they proceeded to put in execution immediately, to the number of one hundred and sixty members. They were received by the people with loud acclamations, the barricades opened before them, and an immense multitude followed, waving their hats, and shouting applause, but mingling every other word with loud demands for the liberty of Broussel.

Thus accompanied, the parliament arrived at the Palais Royal, and were immediately admitted to the presence of the queen, who had just risen.\* After

\* The best authorities for the transactions of the eventful days of the barricades appear to me to be the *Memoirs of De Retz*, *Omer Talon*, *Madame de Motteville*, and *Joly*. *De Retz*

being introduced, Matthew Molé, the chief president, addressed her upon the state of the country and the government, with the quick, clear, and unaffected eloquence for which he was celebrated. He represented to her, that the royal word had in many instances been used as a mere matter of sport, and that every sort of deception had been practised in order to evade the just demands of the people; he showed her that the time for trifling was past, and that the capital city of the empire demanded in arms, that those who had been unjustly imprisoned for doing their duty to their country should be immediately restored to their liberty, their family, and their functions.

We must pause for a moment upon the character of Matthew Molé, as that of one of the most extraordinary men of his age. He combined, perhaps, more than any other man that ever existed, all the qualities requisite to form an upright and distinguished magistrate: clear-sighted, learned, thoroughly versed in all the forms of procedure, in all the rights and privileges of the magistracy, and in the laws of the land, he was never embarrassed on

forms the basis of all statements regarding the popular movements, as Madant de Motteville gives the best picture of what took place at the court, and Talon in the parliament: Joly supplies a number of names and interesting particulars with which De Retz does not choose to embarrass his relation, as well as others which the coadjutor had various reasons for withholding; for though candid in many respects, the egregious vanity of De Retz prevented him from being candid upon all.

any sudden emergency by the slightest hesitation in regard to how he should act; his eloquence was terse, vigorous and natural—his judgment profound and decisive; and although attached to the existence of legitimate authority, and unwilling to see it stripped of any of those attributes which might render it respected, he was sternly opposed to its abuse, and resolute in maintaining all barriers against its excess. The most striking quality of his mind, however, was one the most necessary of all in troublous times, and which shone out conspicuously in those of the Fronde:—it was intrepidity. Through the whole of the terrible and dangerous scenes in which he was engaged through life, he was never once known to hesitate, or waver in regard to his conduct—he was never once known to display the slightest symptom of apprehension. He might have his foibles undoubtedly, and the populace regarded him rather as a favourer of the court: he was not without ambition, he was not without a fondness for court favour; but he never in any instance, as far as I have been able to trace, sacrificed to those propensities any of the rights or privileges of his corps, any of the duties of his office, any of the real interests of the people. In looking at his conduct alone, one would be rather led to imagine that he sacrificed many of his own feelings, and sometimes a part of his own judgment, to the passions and interests of the popular party; but the impression certainly is, that whatever he did sacri-



fice was only in order to choose between two evils, and that his object was to do the best for his country under circumstances the most difficult, painful, and embarrassing.

To the chief president's address the Queen replied, by every account, sharply and severely. The substance of her answer, as given by Madame de Motteville, does not show much power of reason; and certainly it was filled with reproaches which were then ill-timed, and with threats which she had no power to execute. Several of the members addressed her afterwards, beseeching her to consider the state of the country at the moment, and to take the only step which could free them from actual peril. She positively refused, however, to set Broussel at liberty; and her last reply, as she turned somewhat abruptly to quit them, imported, that if they on their part did what they ought, and testified for the future more respect for the will of the king, on her part she would show them all that favour which they could justly expect at her hands.

On this very ambiguous speech, the chancellor proceeded to read a comment, as soon as the queen was gone, to the effect, that she meant to release Broussel if they would promise to cease their deliberations in regard to the king's last declaration, and to assemble no more upon affairs of state.

Although it would appear that the chancellor's interpretation was not quite authentic, the parliament was obliged to receive it as such, and, but

little contented with the result of their audience, to return to deliberate thereupon in their own court. They accordingly proceeded into the street; but at each barricade they found the people expecting to hear an announcement of the immediate liberation of Broussel. At the first barricade, some little difficulty was made to let them pass; but the calm tone in which the chief president assured them that they should have justice, induced the multitude to give way; as was also the case at the second barrier. Not so, however, at the third; for there, one of the leaders of the mob, followed by a considerable number of armed men, advanced upon the first president, and dropping the spear-point of his halbert to Molé's breast, demanded if he had brought a positive order for Broussel's liberation. On finding that he had not done so, he showered a thousand insults upon him, exclaiming, "Turn, traitor, and bring us back Broussel, or Mazarin and the chancellor for hostages, if you would escape being massacred!"

Terror took possession of the greater part of the parliament; a number threw themselves amongst the mob and effected their escape, and confusion outcry and tumult succeeded, during which various acts of violence were offered to the parliament itself. Molé, amongst the rest, was very roughly treated: he was one of the last of those who adhered to the fashions of a former day, and wore his beard at its natural length, which gave the populace an opportunity of marking and insult-

ing him more particularly. Nevertheless, in the midst of indignities and menaces he maintained the same firm, calm dignity; never forgot, for one moment, his station or his character, replied powerfully and deliberately to the people, rallied and reassured the various terrified members of the parliament; and finding that it was in vain to attempt to pass onward, he turned upon his steps and led his diminished train back to the palace, amidst shouts and cries, and blasphemies of every description.

The return of the parliament both disconcerted and enraged the queen. There can be no doubt whatever that hitherto she had not entertained the slightest intention of liberating Broussel; and it would seem that many persons about her recommended her to order his instant decapitation, while others advised her to arrest a certain number of the parliament as hostages for the good behaviour of the rest, who were to be sent forth to quiet the tumult. More violent counsels still were urged by some; but Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans persuaded the regent to adopt pacific measures.

The chief president harangued the regent once more on the state of Paris; the princesses, who formed the circle round her, threw themselves at her feet; the Duke of Orleans affected to do the same; and even Mazarin joined his voice to the rest, and besought her to yield something to the application of her faithful subjects. On her right-

hand stood one who could have told her, from bitter experience, how dangerous it is to meet without full preparation the just or unjust indignation of a nation. Henrietta, the unwise and unfortunate queen of Charles I. of England, entreated her to listen to the remonstrances addressed to her; but all the answer which could be drawn from the Queen was, "Well, gentlemen of the parliament, see then what is necessary to be done."

On this reply however, scanty as it was, the parliament resolved to retire to another apartment and deliberate; and a hasty sort of court was prepared for them in the great gallery of the Palais Royal. There they were furnished with some refreshment, not having tasted any thing during the day. The chancellor presided in right of his office; the Duke of Orleans took his seat, and urged upon them moderate counsels; and Mazarin presented himself for a few minutes, but only excited merriment amongst the lighter members of the body, who though magistrates were still Parisians, by repeating several times a few short and insignificant sentences with a strong foreign accent. The parliament implied from the queen's words, that she was prepared to give liberty to Broussel; but, well knowing that she would not do so without some concession on their part, they determined, after many hours' deliberation, to thank her majesty for the liberation of their brethren, and to promise to suspend, till after the feast of St. Martin, all

their deliberations upon matters of state, except regarding the *rentes* and the *tariffe*.

Although this promise afforded but a suspension of hostilities, the queen was obliged to content herself with not having been absolutely defeated, and perhaps shared in Mazarin's reliance upon the power of time in removing the difficulties of her situation, and enabling her to put a stop altogether to those proceedings which she had now only been enabled to delay. The *lettres-de-cachet* for the release of the prisoners were immediately granted, and their friends and relations amongst the parliament were despatched to bring them back in two of the royal carriages. Matthew Molé and the rest of the magistrates, after having thanked the queen for the concession which they had extorted, once more left the Palais Royal, and issued forth amongst the populace, who instantly assailed them with questions.

The first president showed them copies of the *lettres-de-cachet*, which had been granted for the release of Broussel and Blancmesnil; and, satisfied that the parliament had done its best for the liberation of the prisoners, they suffered that body to pass quietly on its way. The populace, however, refused to lay down their arms till they saw Broussel amidst them with their own eyes; and the armed burghers continued to guard the streets, countenancing the people in the menacing attitude which they still maintained. "Never were there

disorders," says Madame de Motteville, "so well ordered; a sedition so great and so impetuous as this being likely naturally to cause more evil than it did cause. But the burghers, who had taken arms very willingly to save the town from pillage, were not a bit more moderate than the people, and demanded Broussel as heartily as the porters."

The alarms, however, of that day were not terminated with the attainment of their object by the parliament. The queen, insensible to fear, had kept her circle round her the whole day, treating the insurrection of the capital as a mere casual tumult, and, in the intervals of graver deliberation, laughing and talking with the ladies of her court, and maintaining an air of serenity which was only disturbed by brief fits of anger. The rest of the circle found it necessary or expedient to imitate the demeanour of the regent; and Mazarin himself, though well aware that he was one of the principal objects of popular hatred, maintained the appearance of perfect tranquillity. As night came on, however, and the people did not disperse, as the barricades were still maintained and guarded, as the shouts and sounds of guns going off in different parts of the town continued unabated, the fears of the minister could no longer be sufficiently restrained to prevent them from betraying themselves; and even the queen showed some signs of disquiet. Mazarin, indeed, proceeded to take precautions which evinced the full extent of his apprehensions. He

caused a body of cavalry to wait for him throughout the night in the Bois de Boulogne, in order to escort him across the country if obliged to fly; he remained during the whole period of darkness booted and spurred, and with his horses saddled; he had a regular corps-de-garde established in the part of the building that he inhabited; and he filled a part of his tables with muskets, in order to arm his attendants if attacked. In this state, he passed, as may be conceived, a very unpleasant night.

The following morning found the multitude still in the streets: a thousand rumours agitated the people; some declared they had been cheated and deceived; some supposed that the promise to liberate Broussel had only been given in order to gain time to march troops upon Paris, and in this opinion the appearance of the cavalry in the Bois de Boulogne greatly tended to confirm them. Till past eight o'clock, no appearance of Broussel led them to believe that the court would keep its word; and threats of sacking the Palais Royal, of sending for the Duke of Beaufort, and other vague menaces, to which any designing person might soon have given a direction, were beginning to spread abroad, when at length a carriage conveying the prisoner was seen approaching the capital. Multitudes of the principal citizens went forth to meet him, and the old man was brought into Paris in triumph amidst shouts, acclamations, and general discharges of musquetry. He was led, in the first instance, to

the cathedral at Notre Dame, and thence to the Palais de Justice, where he took his accustomed place, and was publicly harangued by the chief president. The parliament then issued a decree, enjoining the citizens to lay down their arms and return to their usual employments. In a moment the chains were unhooked, the barricades removed, the arms, which had so suddenly appeared from various secret receptacles, disappeared again as rapidly; and, to use the words of an eye-witness, "two hours after the decree of the parliament was given, one could walk in Paris as in the most peaceable times, and every thing became calm, in such a manner that it seemed as if the past had been nothing but a dream."

Such was the celebrated day of the barricades, the first act in the great tragic farce of the Fronde; and the whole of that first act seemed naturally concluded on the morning of the 28th of August; so much so, indeed, that many thought the drama itself was over. Others, who saw more deeply however, knew that it was only beginning; and, even while the events just related were proceeding through their regular course to their close, some of the performers on the scene were making preparations for the various after-acts, which they were well aware must ensue. Of these preparations we must now take some notice, as well as of several interludes which occupied the time till the recommencement of the real and active business of the stage.



## CHAPTER VI.

**Proceedings of De Retz.—Disunion at Court.—Riots renewed.**  
 —The Regent tries to soothe De Retz.—Violent proceedings of the Parliament.—Libels.—The court quits Paris.—Consternation of the Parisians.—Chateaucneuf banished.—Arrest of Chavigny.—Condé at the court.—He treats with the Fronde.—The court forced to yield.—It returns to Paris.—Breach with the Duke of Orleans.—Reconciliation.—Rupture between Condé and the Parliament.—Violent proceedings.—The court retires to St. Germain.—Terror of the Parliament.—Preparations for civil war.—Intrigues of the Fronde.—The Prince de Conti, generalissimo of the Parisians.—Civil war begun.

SHUT up in the lesser archbishopric, and foreseeing, with clear discrimination, that the court would be obliged to yield Broussel to the entreaties of the parliament and the threats of the mob, the coadjutor had passed the leisure time which remained upon his hands, while he suffered the multitude to pursue to its conclusion the impulse he had given, in laying out, as far as the vague uncertainty of events would permit, his plan of operations for the future, and in making preparations for guiding the unwieldy machines which he had set in motion. He had already learned, as he acknowledges in more than one place, that the parliament, divided by separate interests, yet moved

by one general principle, could not be calculated upon with any degree of certainty;—that it was, in short, one of those instruments, the operations of which might always be rendered powerful by a powerful hand, but could by no skill be regulated with precision, or directed with certainty.

The people, on the contrary, he could always calculate upon so long as they could be roused into action at all. There are certain cabalistic words, as he well knew, by which all mobs may be governed, and the only thing he had to fear was that state of apathy which, with a multitude, generally follows great excitement. The time of indifference, however, he had every reason to believe was far off; and all that he had now to do, was so to organize a party to be placed at the head of the populace as to give the united faction a weight and authority which it could not possess while composed alone of the lower orders directed by himself. His plan required that peers and princes should take part with the people, and, either really or apparently, identify themselves with the classes which he had at command. Under such circumstances, his faction, he saw, would become much more powerful, not only as regarded the court, but as regarded the parliament also; and that body, which might lead or repress the people as it thought fit, so long as the people remained unsupported, would fall into a mere instrument in the people's hands, as soon as a great portion of the rank, the wealth,

the influence, and the talent of the capital was arrayed on the popular side.

I have before pointed out, how many of the highest families in France had been estranged from the court by various causes, and had lent the inert power of their tacit disaffection to the rising party of the Fronde. It now became necessary, however, that they should more actively display their co-operation, and that they should be taught to which party they belonged, a matter upon which they were generally ignorant. Although there had been much intrigue amongst them, there had hitherto been little cabal; each had worked separately towards the gratification of his own passions, and what De Retz had now to do, was to display to all the bonds, hitherto unseen, which united them firmly together. The first person he applied to was by no means the one most adverse to the court. This was the Duke of Longueville, who had been employed and favoured by Mazarin, but who had lately discovered or imagined some causes of complaint too petty to be dwelt upon here. He also had some thirst for popularity; but that quality of his mind which De Retz most calculated upon to bring him over at once to the Fronde, was what he calls "his love for the commencement of all pieces of business"; and therefore it was that the wily coadjutor applied to the duke, as the first noble to be gained over to espouse the cause of the people.

Shortly after the formation of the barricades, the

coadjutor, remaining firmly entrenched in his archbishopric, despatched a messenger\* to the Duke of Longueville, to request an interview; and so eager was that prince to enter actively into the proceedings which were taking place, that, not being able to pass through the streets on account of the barricades, he threw himself into a small boat and dropped down the Seine to the Archbishopric. He there held a long conference with De Retz and several of his friends, and very violent counsels were proposed by some; but neither the coadjutor nor the Duke of Longueville were disposed towards extreme measures, and the only result was, that which De Retz intended, — the absolute engagement of the duke on the part of the Fronde. This was quite enough to satisfy the coadjutor; for the importance of Longueville's rank, wealth, and connexions was all that he desired in order to lure others of equal or greater influence over to the faction.

Far from wishing to hurry on the parliament further than they were inclined to go, De Retz felt secured by the passions of various leading individuals amongst them, that the chambers would push their operations against Mazarin, for the time at least, fully as fast as he could wish them to be carried on. The passions of the leading members, which he thus held as security, were by no means those springing from even mistaken patriotism or a desire of popularity. They have in general been

\* Guy Joly.

traced, by the Frondeurs themselves, to the sordid and selfish motives of interest or revenge.\* Broussel, the tribune of the people, as he is usually called, had been refused a company of the guards for his son, and thenceforth became a patriot. Blancmesnil, nearly related to Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, and under the administration of that prelate looking up to the highest offices in the state, had plunged into popularity as soon as his relative was disgraced. The president De Longueuil, qualified by De Retz himself as a man of a dark, decisive, and dangerous spirit, had been disappointed of obtaining the post of chancellor to the queen, and openly aspired to establish his brother the president De Maisons, as superintendent of finance. Viole was the intimate friend and relation of Chavigni, now the declared enemy of the minister; and though Longueuil was the only person of any great talent amongst them, we are too well acquainted in the present day with the mechanism by which great bodies of men are moved, to be surprised that the parliament was led by some of its rashest, weakest, and most ignorant members; while the vigour and discrimination of Molé, and the genius and eloquence of Talon, had little or no effect in calming their turbulence or directing their course.

In turning his eyes towards the court, also, De Retz had every reason to be satisfied with what he

\* See *Memoirs of the Duchess de Nemours*, p. 224, De Retz, vol. i. p. 194.

there beheld ; for of course, next to union in his own faction, the thing to be most desired was divisions amongst his opponents. So long as the royal family continued to support each other with vigour and sincerity, the resistance of the court to the encroachments of the parliament would naturally be powerful, and, in all probability, ultimately successful ; but the events which had preceded the barricades had opened to the eyes of the Duke of Orleans a prospect of increasing his power, and had infected him also with a desire of popularity, which had been one of his old maladies, and which returning upon him now, affected him through the whole of the rest of his days with a shivering and feverish patriotism, which only showed his native feebleness more strongly.

“ The Duke of Orleans,” says Madame de Motteville, “ who had hitherto appeared so much attached to the queen, could not regard the state of the court without feeling at his heart some movements of hope, that, the hatred which people felt towards the queen augmenting every day, they would oblige her to restore to his hands the authority which he had yielded to her, or at least to give him a greater share than that with which he had been as yet contented. His favourite (de la Rivière), who saw the facility with which the power of his master might be augmented, could not prevent himself from wishing it in order to augment his own ; and as it is difficult not to display that

which one has upon the mind, it was easy for the Queen to perceive in the council, that the duke did not act so vigorously for her as he had done in times past. The Queen therefore did not employ him so often to remedy her misfortunes, for fear the physician should aggravate the malady."

In this state of embarrassment, not knowing where to look for aid or support, new apprehensions were cast into the lot of Anne of Austria on the very day the barricades were removed. The populace were still in a state of excitement; and wandering rumours of a design to chastise them for their late revolt, spread through the city. The cavalry posted in the Bois de Boulogne was magnified into an army; and popular passions, which have little regard for geography, instantly invested a handful of light horse with the quality of the host of Christina Queen of Sweden come to aid her sister queen in punishing her revolted subjects. Two tumbrels of powder for the use of the regiment of the guards, who were totally without ammunition, happened most unfortunately to be drawn through the gates of Paris before the eyes of the excited people at this critical time, and naturally produced an immediate tumult. The evil designs of the court now appeared clear; the tumbrels were seized upon, torn to pieces, and the powder plundered; the people flew to arms; the voice of the magistrates who attempted to quiet the affray, was unheard; and so quickly did the fire spread, that

in half an hour the whole of Paris was raised, and resumed the same appearance that it had displayed in the morning.

News of this new insurrection, of course, reached the Palais Royal very soon; and the Queen regent immediately took the only means in her power to convince the people that she had no intentions whatsoever of using any hostile measures towards them. The guards, which had been doubled at the Palais Royal on the former day, were marched off to their quarters, leaving none but two sentinels before the gates; and the Prévôt des Marchands was sent for to the Palais Royal. To him the Queen explained the cause of the arrival of the powder; gave him the fullest assurances of her pacific intentions towards the people; and to prove to them that she had no design of carrying off the young king, and giving up Paris to pillage, as had been reported, she consented that the keys of the city gates should remain in the hands of the populace for the night.

It was already late in the day when these events happened; but, after another short interval of calm, the tumult again increased, and the people were heard to utter threats of sacking the Palais Royal. Terror now took possession of the court; the building was indefensible, no force was present but an ordinary guard and a handful of the gardes de corps, the commander of which only served to increase the alarm of all parties by assuring the queen that they were willing to die for her at the



door of her apartments. Mazarin was so full of perturbation and alarm that he could neither afford the regent advice or support; and the only person who appears to have maintained any degree of presence of mind, was Anne of Austria herself, who replied to those that repeated to her the menaces of the people, "Fear not, God will not abandon the innocence of the king. Let us confide in him." The Cardinal, however, well knowing that he was the object of all animosity, and feeling himself unsupported by any one with sincere affection, gave way to all the alarm he felt, and not only took the same precautions as the night before, but, casting off the Roman purple, disguised himself in grey, and went out incognito to one of the corps de garde which the burghers had established in the street, to learn from his own observations the views and intentions of the people. This state of apprehension lasted till midnight, but then the sight of but two simple sentries pacing up and down before the palace, the silence and tranquillity of the building itself, the absence of all signs and indications of movement or preparation, at length began to have an effect upon the minds of the people; group by group dropped away, the artisan retired to rest, the burgher laid by his arms and recounted his exploits, and the streets of Paris gradually became silent and deserted, while the alarms of the court disappeared with the menacing signs which had occasioned them.

These events, however, had made an impression upon Anne of Austria. Although her courage had not abandoned her, yet she had learned to know what danger is ; and she looked round her on every side in order to seek means of avoiding a renewal of such perils, till she should be able to oppose to her assailants a more potent resistance. We have seen that she could no longer rely upon the Duke of Orleans : Seguier, the chancellor, was too supple to give her any advice but such as he thought would be pleasing to her or to Mazarin ; and Mazarin himself, what between a disposition naturally pacific, and the want of all feeling of certainty and security in the foreign land which he governed, was too timid to afford her any vigorous counsels at a moment when decision, at least, was requisite. She fixed then her hopes upon the return of the Prince de Condé, in whom she thought she could trust for support, in case of any very outrageous proceedings on the part of the people or the parliament. In order, however, to insure that the people should be kept tranquil till the return of Condé, it was necessary to gain the coadjutor ; and Mazarin and the regent determined to send for that prelate for the purpose of softening him with sweet words.

It is an extraordinary failing of cunning people to deceive themselves in the first place in regard to the power of their own arts ; and Mazarin and the Queen seem entirely to have forgotten that they had to deal with one of the most acute and subtle men

of his time. De Retz came to the palace at their bidding, and was treated by the Queen with the very highest distinction. She acknowledged that, if she had believed his words, she should not have fallen into the difficulties that surrounded her; she assured him that it was not the fault of the cardinal, who had always pressed her to follow his (De Retz's) advice, and to lean upon his opinions; and she wondered that the coadjutor did not cause some of his people to cane the buffoon Beautrie, who had ridiculed him on the day preceding the barricades. But she let fall a much more important hint, to which, however, De Retz does not seem to have attached so much importance as it deserved. She declared that all the evils had arisen from the bad counsels of Chavigni, to whom she had given ear, instead of listening to the cardinal.

From the apartments of the queen De Retz proceeded to those of Mazarin, who exaggerated all the friendly expressions of Anne of Austria, assured the coadjutor that for the future he would guide himself by his counsels, and declared he was the only honest man in France. Such was the language of the court; but De Retz was an adept at translating this kind of tongue, and having put the expressions of the queen and her minister into ordinary terms, he found that they implied that all his proceedings with the people and with the parliament were perfectly well known and understood, and that nothing was wanting but time and opportunity to

punish him accordingly. He affected, however, to be as innocent and tractable as a pet lamb; and after suffering the queen and her minister to fondle him as much as they thought proper, he returned home to guard against any surprise on the part of the court, which he had discovered to be never more dangerous than when it appeared most affectionate.

In looking round him as to his future proceedings, he too directed his attention to the return of Prince de Condé; and, strange to say, he also looked for support and aid to the same prince on whom Anne of Austria had fixed her hopes. Strange is it, also, that De Retz, whose purpose was now to carry on the most decided opposition to the court, was most anxious for the same events which were desired by Anne of Austria; that his hopes of the parliament keeping the promise that they had made, and suspending, for a time, all discussions upon affairs of state, and his anxiety for the vacation, which, he trusted, would give an interval of calm and tranquillity to all parties, were as great as those of the queen. Nevertheless, so it was; for a period of repose was as necessary to him as to the court. His faction was not so completely formed as to enable him to act independent of the parliament; with the parliament alone he did not choose to act any farther, well knowing that it was likely, in the heat of its new enthusiasms, to drag forward to rash and illegal acts those whom it might prosecute for committing them shortly after-

wards ; and he, consequently, determined to labour assiduously till Condé's return, for the consolidation of a party ready to receive him ; and at the same time to keep up merely a sufficient degree of fire in the parliament to be raised into a flame whenever he liked, but not to burst out till required.

The eagerness and vehemence, however, of the body with which he had to deal, frustrated his purposes of moderation. At first the parliament affected to keep within the limits which it had prescribed to itself at the time it obtained Broussel's release, but gradually the engagements which it had made were forgotten ; and although it had promised to examine nothing but the business of the Rentes and the Tariffe, it returned to its old deliberations upon the king's declaration, and made demand upon demand, carrying its exactions to a point in regard to which the queen could by no means satisfy them. The chambers continued their attacks so warmly, that, at length, as if to drive the regent to extremity and to force her to have recourse to violent means, they demanded permission to continue their sittings during the vacation, which deprived her of her last hope of repose. At the same time the capital had been rendered odious to Anne of Austria by the libels which were daily circulated in regard to her ; in most of which it has been generally suspected, and with a great degree of probability, that De Retz or his agents had a

principal share.\* Every insinuation to which the queen's partiality for her minister gave an appearance of probability was circulated eagerly against her. The people were taught to believe that she meditated nothing but to punish them for their last revolt, and to take away from them the means of resistance. German, Swiss, Flemish troops were said to be in the neighbourhood of Paris. It was declared that she had caused the chains, which in those days hung at the principal corners of the streets, and which usually served as the first foundation for a barricade, to be secretly filed through in the night, in order to deprive the people of that defence; and astrologers were engaged to predict that, on the eighth of September, a terrible catastrophe would happen, and that a repetition of the famous massacre of St. Bartholomew's day would then take place in Paris.

Pained, angry, and dispirited, Anne of Austria now applied to the parliament itself for protection. She represented to that body of magistrates that daily libels were circulated against her; and she called upon them to take measures for putting a stop to such proceedings, and punishing the authors thereof. The parliament, however, treated her appeal with the most mortifying contempt. Old Broussel proposed that her complaint should

\* See the "Causes de la Guerre," the "Frondeur compatissant," "L'heureux couple," &c. for the infamous libels current in those days.

be registered, more for the sake of recording formally the humiliating act to which they had reduced the queen, than of granting her the justice she demanded. The only other notice taken of her appeal was a severe, but not at all laughable decree against all astrologers and other disturbers of the public peace; and at the same time the chamber proceeded to urge the queen and her minister, more violently than ever, upon those points where it was not only difficult, but impossible, to afford any immediate satisfaction.

All these vehement measures were as much opposed by De Retz as by the court. He had held secret meetings with the principal demagogues of the parliament, in order to suggest to the chambers the measures which he wanted them to adopt; but he now found the full difficulty, not only of managing the parliament in a body, but of managing even his own agents therein. Blancmesnil became frightened at the air of conspiracy which their secret meetings assumed; and the president De Novions fancied that he saw in the moderate measures recommended by De Retz a concealed partiality for the court, which, the coadjutor declares, put him in mind of the good Calvinist minister who suspected the Admiral Coligni, the great leader of the Huguenots, of having been to confession with a cordelier of Niort.

Such, however, was the effect of the proceedings of the parliament upon the Queen, that after hav-







ing, most unwillingly, granted them permission to continue their sittings for fifteen days during the vacations, she lost patience at their demands, and determined to carry the young king out of Paris. This purpose required to be effected with some degree of precaution, as it was not at all improbable that the multitude would rise and attempt to prevent the exit of the royal family from the capital. Mazarin, indeed, entertained no slight alarm upon the occasion; but the Queen's courage and presence of mind carried through with ease a project, which, in all probability, would have failed entirely in his more timid hands.

On the night previous to her departure from Paris she spoke openly of her purpose of going to Ruel in order to allow the palace to be thoroughly cleaned, as of a thing of course, in regard to which no will was to be consulted but her own; and on the following morning at six o'clock, the young king, accompanied by Cardinal Mazarin, with very few guards, and very few attendants, quitted the Palais Royal, and took his way towards Ruel. "The Queen herself, as the most valiant of the party," says Madame de Motteville, remained to cover the retreat of her minister and her son; and, in order to display that sort of calm unconcern, which, she well knew, was the best means of quieting the Parisians, she drove to various parts of Paris, going openly to confession, and visiting the nuns of the Val de Grace, before she set out. She was thus

suffered to go on without the slightest interruption, although in the morning some of the artisans near the gates had endeavoured to create a mob for the purpose of stopping the young king, and had actually attempted to plunder the carts carrying the baggage of the minister ; but the royal party had proceeded too far, and the streets were too thin of people for the call to arms to be attended with any effect. Mazarin went forward on his way, the guards were sufficient to protect the baggage, and the Queen, after having visited the Cordeliers, the Val de Grace, and her second son, who was ill of the small pox, held a conference with the Prévôt des Marchands, and then proceeded to Ruel.

The news of these transactions threw the parliament and the Fronde into a state of the greatest terror and consternation. A thousand reports were instantly spread, in regard to the intentions of the queen ; but the most prevalent rumour was, that she intended to recall the Prince de Condé and his army from Flanders, and, by blockading the city of Paris, at once punish it for its past offences and reduce it to obedience for the future. There can be no doubt whatever that such a project was discussed by the court ; but various motives prevented it from being absolutely adopted at the time. The feelings and determinations of Condé himself were also to be consulted, and as yet they were very doubtful. The only thing that was re-

solved upon under these circumstances was to recall that prince himself; for, doubtful as the Queen was of the views and purposes of the Duke of Orleans, she saw that something would, at all events, be gained by balancing his power with that of the Prince de Condé. The young warrior was, therefore, at once summoned to the court; and returned as soon as the military proceedings in which he was engaged would permit.

In the mean time, however, in the court at Ruel, and in the city of Paris, several events took place of no slight importance. De Retz and his friends, as well as the parliament, were astounded, as we have said, at the departure of the royal family, and the coadjutor would have been still more so, had he not confidently counted upon gaining Condé himself to his party, a confidence based upon the friendly feeling which that prince had always displayed towards him, upon his personal dislike to Mazarin, and upon the probable results of a scheme, which the coadjutor proposed to chalk out for the young general, with a view gradually to overthrow the queen's minister, and assume himself the power, of which Mazarin would thus be deprived. Two pieces of intelligence, however, reached Paris almost immediately after the queen's departure, which, for a time, seemed to check all these hopes. The first was, that the Baron d'Erlac had passed the Somme at the head of a large body of German

troops (the forces of the late Duke of Weimar); and the second, that Condé had been wounded at the siege of Furnes, by a musket-shot in the loins.

These two circumstances threw the coadjutor into a state of great embarrassment, which was increased by the consternation and depression of the parliament. Prompt and decided, however, in all his movements, De Retz soon fixed upon a plan, which was, indeed, so dangerous, that he admits it was only expedient because there was none other he could pursue. He knew that the extremes of fear and daring meet, or, in other words, that courage is sometimes born of despair. Under this view, he saw that the parliament, though it was already terrified to the greatest degree by the king's departure, and, if suffered to continue in that state, would fall back into the timid inactivity it had shown under Richelieu, only required to be pushed a little farther to rise into fury, and renew its former opposition to the court with more vehemence than ever. He determined to proceed accordingly, and doubted not soon to rouse once more into activity the stunned passions which he destined to work out his ends.

In the mean time the court had recovered its calmness, and Mazarin his resolution. Surveying with more tranquillity than he had hitherto been able to obtain, all the late transactions, and probably directed in his judgment by various private intimations which are now lost to us, he became

convinced that the severe opposition which the court had encountered, the daring encroachment upon the royal authority lately made by the parliament, and the rapid and skilful combinations displayed by all the movements of that body, were to be attributed not alone to itself, but to the suggestions, hints, and directions of other persons, who had quick and certain information concerning the designs and views of the court.

In looking round to ascertain who these persons were, everything combined to fix suspicion upon Chavigni, Chateauneuf, and Goulas. The first, still retaining his post of privy counsellor, was notoriously dissatisfied and hostile towards the court; the second, living at Mont-rouge, was known to be in constant communication with the disaffected members of the parliament, to be the mortal enemy of Seguier, the chancellor, and eager to deprive him of the seals by any means. He had been protected hitherto by the Duke of Orleans, but the duke himself was now suspected; and there was every reason to believe that Goulas, that prince's secretary, conveyed all sorts of information to Chateauneuf and De Retz, and entered into every cabal for overthrowing the minister. Having come to these conclusions, Mazarin believed that, as all these persons were totally distinct and separate from the parliament, he might act against them with vigour; and the news that he daily received of the terror that had spread through Paris gave

him courage to do so at once. Chateauneuf and Goulas were exiled; but Chavigni had been his friend, he had treated Chavigni with ingratitude, he had injured as well as neglected him, and of course it was to be expected that the cardinal's measures against him would be more severe.

The count was, as we have said, governor of Vincennes, and had passed there a considerable part of his time, since the elevation of Mazarin had deprived him of many of his functions at the court. On the morning of the 18th of September he was sitting in the castle with his wife, with Duplessis, one of the secretaries of state, and with another gentleman, when it was announced to him that one of the king's gentlemen in ordinary had arrived at Vincennes. Thinking that this messenger's business referred to the prisoners in the castle, Chavigni ordered him to be taken to his lieutenant; to whom, however, the gentleman would not communicate his business, and he was consequently ushered into the presence of the governor. To him he immediately tendered a *lettre de cachet*, commanding him to depart for his estates called Chavigni within two hours, taking his wife along with him. Chavigni read the order, and then turning to his friends exclaimed, "Gentlemen, we must part; we thought to dine together, but you must return to Paris, and I must go whither the king commands me."

It was determined, however, that while he se-

cured whatever important papers he had at Vincennes, his wife should hasten to their house in Paris for the same purpose. Her carriage was accordingly brought up, but, just as she was getting into it, a captain of the guards appeared, and informed the count that he had come on the part of the king to receive from him the surrender of Vincennes before he went. Chavigni made no resistance, but gave him up the keys at once ; and the captain proceeded to take possession, changing the sentinels and using other precautions. As soon as this was done, he returned to the hall where he had left Chavigni, and told him that he was a prisoner. At the same time those who were below informed Madame de Chavigni of what had taken place, and notified to her that she must retire to their estates in the country without either going to Paris or seeing her husband again. To the latter part of this injunction she refused to submit, and with spirit, affection and determination, forced her way back to the hall in which her husband stood as a prisoner, notwithstanding the opposition of the guards. They would not suffer her, however, to hold any private communication with him ; but nevertheless, knowing that he had documents of much importance on his person, she threw herself into his arms, and while taking a farewell embrace contrived to receive and secrete the papers without being suspected by the guards : then bidding her husband adieu she set off in obedience to the com-



mands she had received. What was the exact nature of the papers which she thus abstracted was never clearly known, but she was afterwards heard to declare that their discovery might have ruined the Prince de Condé as well as her husband.

It is indubitable that Mazarin, in explaining to the celebrated Fabert the cause of Chavigni's arrest, assured him that he had been driven to that act of severity by the efforts of the count to seduce Condé from the service of the court. How far Condé had suffered himself to be seduced does not appear; but it is evident that for some time he hesitated between the government and the Fronde. Fontrailles, who had mixed deeply in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, had during the regency become the intimate friend of Chavigni, who had acted so prominent a part in the discovery of it; and Mazarin now took occasion to join the former in the punishment which he thought fit to inflict upon the latter. Orders were given for arresting Fontrailles, but that wary conspirator, who had so often foiled the purposes of Richelieu, was not to be the victim of Mazarin. Being informed one morning early that guards were seen at his door watching, as if to seize him when he came forth, Fontrailles, who had been wounded accidentally on the day of the barricades, caused one of his servants to take his place in bed, and made his escape by a back way into a street where he had ordered his carriage to be in waiting as soon as he discovered his danger. No

difficulty attended his further proceedings, and, quitting Paris, he once more resumed the life of an exile.

The banishment of Chateauneuf and the arrest of Chavigni gave De Retz the very opportunity he desired; and he instantly made use of it to excite the passions of the parliament to the degree he had proposed. The instrument he pitched upon was the president Viole, the intimate friend of Chavigni, and his immediate agent with the parliament. Him De Retz persuaded that the arrest of the count was only the first blow of an attack directed against himself, and that it was the determination of the court to proceed without pause towards his destruction. The very fears of Viole now rendered him bold, and he undertook to act the part that De Retz suggested. It was not without great difficulty, however, and by the united arguments of the coadjutor and of the president De Longueuil, that Viole was induced to commit himself to the extent proposed. At length, however, they succeeded in persuading him, and the next day, when the president De Mesmes presented to the parliament a commission regarding the chamber of justice, which had been required for the purpose of proceeding against the peculators of the public revenue, Viole rose, and declaring that there were much more important affairs to be considered than that, proposed that a humble supplication should be offered to the queen beseeching her to bring back the king to Paris.

To this he added that, as it was impossible to affect ignorance of who was the author of all these evils, the Duke of Orleans and the high officers of the crown should be requested to take their places in parliament, in order to deliberate upon the decree, given in 1617, in regard to the Mareschal D'Ancre, by which it was forbidden for any foreigners to meddle with affairs of state.

This bold and extraordinary proposal at first struck the parliament with surprise and terror; but one or two of the rasher members raised their voices in its favour; the idea gradually assumed a less frightful aspect; people began to wonder that they had never thought of that old law before; the very men who had that morning appeared still stunned and stupified by the absence of the king, were the first to declaim in the most violent terms against Mazarin and all his proceedings; and the parliament issued a decree with the utmost levity, which, as the chief president declared, was well calculated to produce a civil war. By that decree, the queen was entreated to bring back the young king, and to cause the soldiery to retire from the neighbourhood; the princes and peers were requested to take their seats and deliberate upon the state of the country; and the Prévôt des Marchands was summoned to receive the orders of the parliament for the purpose of securing Paris against attack.

De Retz clearly saw that the parliament would go on beyond the point at which he had proposed

to stop them, and that he would himself be obliged to follow the stream. He therefore prepared for the worst which could occur, that is to say, civil war; and, yielding to the solicitation of some of his friends, he was about to demand armed aid of Spain itself, when the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Prince de Condé put a stop to the execution of that part at least of his design.

On the day before his arrival at the court, news of his coming was conveyed to the coadjutor by the prince's intimate friend the Duke de Chatillion; and De Retz, having no longer any apprehensions, proceeded to Ruel, where he met Condé, and instantly established a communication with him. On the following day, the prince, in return, visited the archbishop, during which visit the coadjutor displayed to him the plan he had formed for driving the cardinal from the councils of the queen and obtaining for Condé the greatest share of authority in France. While the prince was in Paris, deputies set out from the parliament to present their remonstrance and supplication to the queen, and he found them at Ruel on his return. Anne of Austria had treated them somewhat roughly, and expressed without disguise her opinion of their proceedings. The deputies nevertheless went on, after quitting her, to request Condé to take his seat and deliberate upon the decree against foreigners; but the prince, a part of whose plan, as laid down by De Retz, was not to appear too strongly opposed

to the queen or the cardinal, at once refused to do so, told the parliament that they had gone too far, and that he would support the regent if it cost him his life. Getting heated in his discourse, he said a great deal more than he intended, and thus by his natural impetuosity made the parliament believe that he was strongly opposed to, when he was in reality friendly towards them.

The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Conti replied in the same tone, and the deputies returned to Paris very ill satisfied with their reception by the court. Their evil report was confirmed the next day by an edict of the council, annulling that of the parliament, and prohibiting all deliberations upon the decree of 1617. But the time of apprehension was now passed with that body; the new attack made by the court blew up the smothered fire; written remonstrances were drawn up, preparations for civil war were made, and, in direct opposition to the commands of the court, the next day was appointed for deliberating upon the obnoxious decree.

De Retz perceived that all was lost if this fiery disposition was allowed to break forth; and that, what between the impetuosity of the parliament and the impetuosity of Condé, Paris would be plunged, without adequate preparation, into actual warfare with the court, supported by the first general in Europe, and by troops whom he had just led from a long career of victory. It was in vain,

however, that he now endeavoured to stop the evil ; the parliament proceeded in its violent course, and had not the Prince de Condé put a strong check upon his own hasty temper, and endeavoured by moderate measures to avoid a collision, the civil war would have commenced at once. Finding he had gone too far, the prince proposed to the queen—who, in the full intention of attacking Paris, had caused the young Duke of Anjou, and the Duchess of Orleans, both ill, to be brought out of the capital—to write to the parliament, directing that body to send deputies to confer with the princes of the blood upon the state of the country and the demands of the people. This was agreed to by the queen, but Mazarin wished to take a part in the consultations : with him the parliament refused to treat ; and, Condé secretly favouring his exclusion, he was forced to submit. Deputies were accordingly sent from Paris, and they held conferences in the apartments of the Duke of Orleans with that prince himself, Condé, Conti, and the Duke of Longueville.

A number of points were discussed, though but very little opposition was offered to the parliament, except in regard to what was called by the ominous name of *the question of public safety*, which was brought under consideration by the chief president complaining of the arrest of Chavigni. The princes replied, that he had nothing to do with that matter, Chavigni not being a member of the parliament.

Molé, however, insisted that by the laws of the land—laws long neglected indeed, but not the less excellent—no person could be held in prison for more than four and twenty hours without being subject to interrogation before his lawful judges. On this point a very sharp and very long discussion took place; the absolute powers for which the kings of France had so long contended, seemed at an end if this doctrine were admitted; and before the princes ventured upon granting its recognition, they laid the matter before the queen, who again called into consultation the Count de Brienne. That statesman, though strongly attached to the arbitrary principles of the last reign, could not but acknowledge that the law was just. He declaimed vaguely indeed upon its danger to the royal authority, but there was no means of escaping the direct fact, that Molé had propounded a doctrine which was both legal and equitable; and the Queen was obliged formally to promulgate a declaration equivalent to our own invaluable act of Habeas Corpus.

The parliament, however, was not satisfied with this or any other concession. Nothing multiplies so much as the demands of a public body once gratified. Condé and almost all the princes kept up communications with the leaders of the Fronde, by whom they were persuaded to yield to all demands. The Frondeurs took care that the parliament should be supplied with pretexts for making such demands, by stirring up different classes of

the populace to tumults ; and the Queen, finding that she could not depend upon the princes for support in any open resistance to those who assailed her, determined to yield everything that was required. Having done so at once, she imagined that, for some time at least, she had stilled the greedy clamour of her adversaries. She was still pressed, however, to return to Paris, and on the eve of All Saints day she brought back the young king to the capital.

Before that period the private intrigues of the two rival houses of Condé and Orleans had brought new elements of discord into the royal councils. The Duke of Orleans, some time before, had applied to Mazarin to give the whole influence of the crown of France to his favourite the Abbé de la Rivière, for the purpose of raising him to the Roman conclave. The nomination had been granted, and the favourite of the Duke of Orleans, at the height of his ambition, had devoted himself to the service of the minister, with zeal which relaxed as his remembrance of the benefit decayed. Whether Mazarin suspected him or not of having lately inspired the Duke of Orleans with the ambitious views he entertained, it is certain that the cardinal somewhat cooled towards La Rivière ; but, on the return of Condé to the court, an application was made to the minister which perplexed and alarmed him from the consequences naturally to be apprehended.



The Prince de Conti, Condé's younger brother, had suddenly been seized with the whim of becoming a cardinal. Jealousy of the house of Orleans had some share in the matter; and Condé demanded that the nomination of the Abbé de la Rivière should be revoked, and that the Queen should apply to the Pope to bestow the first vacant hat upon the Prince de Conti. Mazarin and the Queen remonstrated, and represented the consequences, but in vain. Condé persisted, and the regent and her minister were obliged to yield.

As long as possible, this change in the royal views was concealed from La Rivière; but as soon as it was disclosed to him, he fell into transports of passion and indignation. When his rage had a little abated, however, he saw immediately what plan it was for his interests to pursue, and applied himself to persuade the Duke of Orleans that, in the contempt shown for his wishes and requests, he had received an unpardonable insult, which, if passed over, would bring upon him the scorn of all France. The Duke, always easily led, was convinced at once of the justice of his favourite's representations, and, in a conference with the Queen, held out threats, and used language, which caused Anne of Austria to retort sharply. A severe misunderstanding ensued; and on the return of the court to Paris, the palace of the Luxemburg, then inhabited by the Duke of Orleans, became the rallying point of all the discontented nobles of the court. The con-

duct of the minister was there publicly scrutinized, all his acts were blamed; the behaviour of the Duke of Orleans was praised to the skies, his indignation in regard to the disappointment of his favourite was declared to be only just and reasonable, and every thing was done to urge him forward towards an irremediable breach with the court.

In the mean time he saw himself supported by a great body of the highest nobility of the land. The kindred houses of Lorraine and Guise, the Dukes of Nemours, Candale, Brissac, and all the followers of the race of Vendôme, rallied round him at the Luxemburg; while the Palais Royal, deserted by all but the immediate attendants of the queen, the cardinal, and the Prince de Condé, offered a blank which terrified Mazarin, and disposed him once more to yield. The natural courage of Anne of Austria would have supported her even without the counsels and opinion of Condé, who publicly turned the Duke of Orleans and his party into ridicule, and told the queen to be under no apprehension, as he would answer for the result. Not so, however, Mazarin, who proceeded to negotiate with the Abbé de la Rivière, offering him compensations of every kind: money, clerical dignities, and even the rich archbishopric of Rheims. For a long time La Rivière would be satisfied with nothing but the cardinal's hat, and refused every proposal that was made to him. Condé, and the Queen too, did all that they could to mark their

indifference to the anger of the Duke of Orleans ; and, on his part, the Duke lost no opportunity of displaying his discontent. Once or twice he presented himself at the court, proceeding thither followed by an immense train of discontented nobles, and accompanied as he went by the shouts and acclamations of the people. On another occasion, he suddenly took his departure from Paris, and remained absent during the whole of that day and the succeeding night ; while the Queen, to mark how little importance was attached to his conduct, caused a play to be performed in the theatre of the Palais Royal. But the triumph of the Orleans party was only the more apparent : the theatre was nearly empty, for not one of the court, we are told, was present, except the immediate dependents of the house of Condé, and the ordinary suite of the queen.

At length, however, the Abbé de la Rivière began to perceive that in the increasing authority and popularity of his master he was very likely to lose that power over him which he had hitherto guarded so jealously ; and when the Dukes of Vendôme, Beaufort, and Mercœur openly offered their services to the Duke of Orleans, he became still more apprehensive. He conveyed, however, by means of a third person, a hint to the Duke of Mercœur, that Mazarin might have intentions favourable towards him, and that he would do well to listen to his overtures, while at the same time he assured that nobleman that the Duke of Orleans

in entering into any reconciliation with the court would not forget the house of Vendôme. Still the Duke of Orleans himself was urged on furiously by most of those who surrounded him, and when he was called upon expressly to state what was, in fact, the price which he put upon his reconciliation with the court, he made such extraordinary demands, that the Queen, Mazarin, and Condé himself were not only astonished, but alarmed. One of the chief articles was, the return of the Dukes of Mercœur, Beaufort, and Vendôme; but he intimated at the same time his determination of exercising to the full all the powers and privileges attached to the office of lieutenant-general, which had been conferred upon him by the parliament. By doing so, he would not only have greatly diminished the power of the regent, but he would have reduced the Prince of Condé to the rank of his inferior officer, and deprived him of all independent authority in the army, except such as he derived from the spontaneous obedience and reverence of the soldiery. Fresh multitudes flocked round him every day, his wife and daughter pressed him vehemently to separate himself entirely from the court; and the party of the regent became astounded at the sight of his popularity and power; but the whole business went on to produce one of those extraordinary, absurd, and unaccountable results, of which the epoch of the Fronde, that great period of inconsistencies, was totally composed.

In consequence of his very power and authority, the Duke of Orleans became frightened, instead of encouraged. He was seized with a sudden panic at his own success and popularity; and, strange to say, the proximate cause of the terror which took possession of him was the effect of the terror with which he inspired his adversaries. Mazarin, the Queen, and Condé himself had been terrified at the sudden formation of the overwhelming party which surrounded the Duke of Orleans. His demands were so high, and his tone so determined, that they had imagined his faction to be much more completely organized, its purposes much more clearly defined, and the bond of union much more powerful than was really the case. Nothing had been expected but civil war; and it was supposed at every moment that the Duke of Orleans was marching to the Palais Royal, to carry off the young king. The guards had been brought into the courts of the royal habitation, the sentinels had been doubled at the gates, and council after council had been held to devise means for diverting the storm or make preparations for meeting it. Every thing that took place in the one palace was reported at the other, and the mere defensive precautions of the Queen struck terror into the bosom of the Duke, who became possessed with the idea that these preparations were made for the purpose of arresting him. In vain the Abbé de la Rivière, who had gradually been gained by the offers of

Mazarin and the concessions of the Prince de Condé, threw himself on his knees before the Duke of Orleans, and besought him to go to the Palais Royal as usual, and not hurry on the country into a civil war. Gaston was now plunged into the depths of apprehension, and refused to stir. He even betook himself to his bed, declaring he had got the gout, though he was perfectly well; and would not listen to any of the messages sent by the Queen to beseech him to come and enter into terms of accommodation. His folly seemed contagious: the excess of his alarm, instead of reassuring the regent and her friends, being totally misunderstood, plunged them into more apprehension than even his menaces had done. His affected gout was supposed to be a mere pretext for remaining in direct opposition to the court till his plans for revolt were mature; and, every hour that went by, anxious eyes were turned towards the Luxemburg in expectation of attempts which the Duke of Orleans, torn to pieces by fear and indecision, was the last man on earth either to contemplate or execute.

How this comedy of errors would have ended is difficult to say, had not Mazarin at length employed Le Tellier to unravel the matter; and the jesuitical shrewdness of that minister soon discovered that the purposes of the Duke of Orleans were not quite so terrible as they appeared. By many persons this discovery would have been taken advantage of in

order to reduce the claims of the Duke to a mere nothing, which indeed might easily have been done by delaying any determination, and leading Gaston on step after step by means of his fears. Le Tellier, however, made more favourable terms with him; for Mazarin was as timid as the Duke, and seemed at this period to have set his mind upon gaining time, as the only means of extricating himself from the perils by which he was surrounded. To the Abbé de la Rivière, the Queen and the Cardinal promised that the absolute nomination of the court of France to a seat in the conclave should still be his, while they attempted to obtain the purple for the Prince de Conti by other means. The Duke de Mercœur was to be received at the court with favour, and the town of Montreuil was to be given to the Duke of Orleans to bestow upon whomsoever he thought fit. Lastly, some vague promises were held out to the Duke of Lorraine, solely for the purpose of saving the honour of the Duke of Orleans, without the slightest intention of ever fulfilling them.

The reconciliation of the duke with the court then became complete, at least in appearance; and this reconciliation was rendered the more gratifying to the minister and the queen by the menacing aspect which the parliament once more began to assume, and which evidently announced that all the concessions that had been made by the court had been received only as encouragement to new

demands. Complaints were first made in regard to certain infractions in the King's declaration on some points of very little importance ; and, although the chief president did all that he could to stay the farther exactions of the chambers, means were found by the party opposed to the government to mingle almost every question of state policy with their deliberations.

In order, if possible, to put a stop to, or to soften their demands, the Queen besought the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, both to take their seats in the parliament, and by their influence and authority endeavour to curb the fury with which that body seemed inclined to proceed. No two persons could be more opposite than these two mediators. The Duke, already popular, was well calculated by his soft and pleasing manners, and by his ready and persuasive eloquence, to lead a multitude, to soften their opposition, and to change the direction of their feelings. Condé, on the contrary, was born to command, to direct and guide. The only eloquence he possessed was of that quick and impetuous character calculated to inflame and to inspire, but not to persuade or to seduce. Keen, clear-sighted, but vehement and irritable, the long discussions of the parliament tired him, their pretexts and excuses for attacking the government incensed and irritated him, and he saw with disgust and indignation the spirit of faction which now appeared in almost all the acts and



words of the assembly. He spoke with haste and with vehemence; he treated the elder members of the body with reprehension and severity, and the younger with contempt and indignity.

In one very stormy sitting, the President Viole talked loudly of the disorders of the state; declared that it was necessary to take the evil by the root, alluding plainly to Mazarin; and informed the chambers that the troops in the neighbourhood of Paris were committing the most extraordinary excesses, especially pointing to the colonel of a regiment, which he insinuated had been brought near the capital for the purpose of intimidating the parliament. He was then going on to examine the conduct of the queen towards the captains of the guards, and was entering into many of the details of the royal household, when the Duke of Orleans rose to interrupt him. But the president complained aloud in insolent language, and would not suffer the duke to proceed, till Condé interfered, and rebuked the refractory member in terms of the most bitter severity, commenting upon the proceedings of the parliament in a menacing tone, which clearly showed that he had lost patience with the body he had been first inclined to support.

The demeanour of Condé from this period, indeed, marked so decidedly the disgust which he entertained for the factious proceedings of the parliament, that De Retz ventured to remonstrate with him on having quitted the plan laid out be-

tween them, and attempted to show him that he might, if he pleased, lead the parliament in any direction that he thought best. The keen, strong sense of the young warrior, however, laid open at once the fallacy of the coadjutor's reasonings, and the impracticability of any plan for ruling a body so uncertain and moveable as the parliament. "No," he replied, "no measures can be sure with people who can never answer for themselves from one quarter of an hour to another, because they can never for an instant answer for the bodies to which they belong. I cannot make up my mind to become the general of an army of madmen. No wise man would engage himself in an assembly of this nature. I am a prince of the blood, and do not choose to shake the whole state." He then announced plainly his determination of standing by the government, and offered to De Retz to effect his reconciliation with the court: a proposal which the coadjutor did not think fit to accept. He had other views, indeed, for a few words dropped by Condé in this conversation showed De Retz not only the intention of the court to employ force to reduce to obedience a city which no concessions had been able to tranquillise, but the very manner in which that force was likely to be directed. The coadjutor had hitherto kept up some appearance of moderation; and while he suffered the parliament to act against the court, and the Fronde to excite the parliament, he had himself remained,

if not concealed by the puppets he put forward, only half seen, as they passed and repassed before him. He now determined to come forward more openly, and to labour assiduously to oppose every thing that the court might undertake with the same arms to which it now threatened to resort.

Civil war had been so long talked of, so often threatened, and so near a neighbour to every discussion, that the minds of the Parisians had become familiar with the idea. They had gradually lost sight of its horrors, and its aspect seemed but little frightful to eyes accustomed daily to contemplate it. Men began to calculate upon it, to wonder when it would break forth, and to expect it daily, so that, ere the commencement of 1649, they would have been very much disappointed if it had not taken place.

Knowing such to be the case, the coadjutor had no great difficulty in commencing his operations. His faction was in fact formed and prepared, and required nothing more than a prince of the blood royal to put himself nominally at the head thereof. De Retz at once turned his eyes to the Prince de Conti, the brother of the great Condé, and, as the first step, made sure of the Duchess de Longueville, who was already dissatisfied with the court, and who possessed the most entire sway over her young and feeble brother. The arrangements were not difficult, and the coadjutor was soon satisfied that, in case of war, the city of Paris would see itself

supported by at least one half of the high nobility of the land, headed by a prince of the blood. It was necessary, however, to keep up undiminished amongst the people that spirit of animosity towards the government which was requisite as a support to the populace under the first evils of a civil war; and during the month of December the coadjutor took means to ensure that the number of libels and satires against the queen and her supporters, but more especially against the minister, should be doubled. Ridicule was one of the chief weapons he employed in opposition to Mazarin, knowing that contemptuous hatred is the most dangerous feeling that can be excited against a minister; and the foreign accent of the cardinal, his ignorance of French manners, and unknown extraction, gave every opportunity for employing such arms against him with the greatest effect. But mere laughter De Retz was not contented with exciting; and now that he had given up all hopes of obtaining his ambitious objects by fair means, and had consequently made up his mind to an irreparable breach with Mazarin, he determined, to use his own words, "to mingle abomination with ridicule, which makes the most dangerous and irremediable of all compounds."

In the mean time the parliament proceeded with furious and inconsiderate vehemence against the government; and in its blind intemperance it forgot to distinguish between those measures which were

calculated only to overthrow an obnoxious minister, diminish the overgrown authority of the crown, or restrain an imperious and despotic regent, and those measures which went directly to the disruption of foreign negotiations, the obstruction of all military efforts, and the ultimate depression of the whole country. The treasury was empty, the finances unproductive, many millions had been struck off the taxes, the armies were unpaid, civil and military officers were all in arrear, and yet the parliament chose this moment for forbidding, upon pain of death, any loans whatever to the government upon the security of the taxes. It was, in fact, saying to the government, "You shall not go on;" and of course it drove the queen and her ministers to despair.

In the mean time Condé had quarrelled openly with the parliament, the love and admiration of the people had turned into hate towards him, and he had now become one of the most eager and determined in urging the queen to punish the insolence of the Parisians. He accordingly proposed to her to carry the young King and the court out of the city, to cause the royal forces to advance, and to cut off all supplies from the capital; while Mazarin, encouraged by Condé, and having no choice left but warfare or destruction, joined that voice which had always been raised for pacific measures to the arguments of the victor of Rocroi. The Queen needed but little persuasion to adopt views so con-

sonant to her own inclinations; and the only difficulty lay with the Duke of Orleans, who was popular with the parliament, and fond of his popularity. A rumour of the queen's intention spread through the city, notwithstanding every precaution; and a deputation from the parliament waited on the Duke of Orleans, beseeching him not to abandon the city, and to do his best to oppose any evil designs on the part of the court. Torn by contending feelings, that undecided prince hesitated for some time; but the whole influence of the court was now exerted to gain him: the Queen visited him in person, and used every argument that she thought might persuade him; Condé, with his burning and impetuous eloquence, assailed him in all the most vulnerable points of his character; and they at length succeeded in gaining his consent to the step they were about to take. As he studiously concealed his determination from his wife and daughter, from fear of the opposition he was sure to encounter, the secret of the queen's plans was not likely to be betrayed at the Luxemburg. At the Palais Royal it was kept by all parties with the most scrupulous fidelity; and, though rumours of a remote design to quit Paris were still circulated vaguely amongst the people, yet nobody believed it to be on the point of execution. Even the queen's own immediate attendants were in perfect ignorance of her intention till the very last moment; so that the people of Paris entertained not the slightest

suspicion that the regent was about to quit the city at once, till she was actually beyond the walls.

Madame de Motheville, who was herself deceived upon the occasion, gives a *naïve* and extraordinary description of a scene in which the presence of mind of Anne of Austria was most strikingly displayed. All the princes and high officers of the court, as well as Mazarin himself, had gone to partake of a great entertainment given by the Maréchal de Grammont on Twelfth-night. The Queen was left almost alone in the palace, and in the evening, when Madame de Motheville went there, she found her with her two children and the Duchess de la Trimouille. Anne of Austria was seated with her arm leaning on the corner of the table, gazing at the sports of the young King. Madame de Motheville placed herself behind the chair, and amused herself with the same contemplation that her royal mistress was enjoying. A moment after, however, Madame de la Trimouille, who was sitting near, made her a sign to bend down her head, and whispered "There runs a rumour in Paris that the Queen departs to-night." The only reply of Madame de Motheville was by shrugging her shoulders, and pointing to the Queen, who, with the most perfect apparent calmness of mind, seemed wholly occupied in looking at the sports of her children. Shortly afterwards, Anne of Austria mentioned her intention of spending the

next day with the nuns of the Val de Grace; and the little Duke of Anjou made her promise to take him thither with her. Later in the evening, to amuse the young King, and the few ladies in waiting, she caused a twelfth-cake to be brought and divided with the usual ceremonies; the lot of the queen fell upon herself, and causing a bottle of hippocrass to be opened, her maids drank to her as the twelfth-night queen. A number of jests and a good deal of merriment followed; the Queen was somewhat gayer than ordinary, and seemed, now that she was abandoned by all the male part of the court, to throw off a great deal of the state of royalty. The attendants even ventured to mention to her the report which was current respecting her departure, and she laughed heartily with them at the suspicions of the Parisians.

At length she retired, as if going to bed; but at that moment one of the principal officers of the household appeared, and the Queen spoke to him for a moment apart: after which, she took the pains of explaining to her attendants that she had sent for Mazarin in order to consult with him respecting some charity. This was the first thing at all calculated to awaken suspicion, as she was not in the habit of giving any explanation in regard to her words or actions. The surmises thus raised were confirmed shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mademoiselle de Beaumont, whose doubts had been excited by something said to her by the wife of the



**Maréchal de Grammont.** The Queen, however, went quietly to bed, and her attendants retired to their own houses. No sooner were they gone than the gates of the Palais Royal were shut, and Anne of Austria rose again almost immediately ; but the young King and his brother were suffered to sleep till three o'clock in the morning, when they were roused, and, accompanied by the Queen and several of the principal officers of the household, descended into the court by a back staircase.

In the mean time the fête at the Maréchal de Grammont's passed off untroubled; and the people, seeing all the princes and even the minister himself proceed to that entertainment, lost the apprehensions they had felt during the day. Immediately after supper, however, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé took their leave and retired to their own houses; but Mazarin, on the contrary, remained at play till a very late hour, while some of his most faithful attendants busied themselves in packing up all his precious effects, and prepared his nephews and nieces to follow the court. At length he selected several persons from the company to take a place in his carriage, and retired; but, as he drove on, he informed his companions of what was about to occur, and invited them to accompany the regent.

In the court of the Palais Royal, the Queen and the royal children were found already waiting; the

families of Condé and Orleans soon after appeared; and all the principal officers and ladies of the court were roused, and received orders to come to the Palais Royal as fast as possible. The Duchess of Longueville and the Prince de Conti were also invited: the former excused herself, however, on account of her pregnancy; but the Prince de Conti joined the rest, and the carriages setting out passed without opposition through the gates, proceeding at once to St. Germain. In consequence of the profound secrecy which had been requisite, nothing had been prepared at St. Germain for the arrival of such a party. \* Only three small beds, which Mazarin had smuggled out of Paris some time before, were to be found in the palace. The Duchess of Orleans, her daughters, and all the principal persons of the court, were obliged to sleep upon the ground; and in a few hours straw became so scarce at St. Germain that none was to be procured at any price.

Scarcely was the Queen out of Paris, when the tidings began to spread through the city, and everything was dismay, consternation, and confusion. The prospect of a sudden siege, with all the vague and extraordinary apprehensions to which the probability of such an occurrence might naturally give rise, now flashed upon the minds of the Parisians. All who were not decidedly embarked in the faction of the Fronde, or the intrigues of the parliament, terrified at being left exposed to the

mercy of a turbulent populace which was likely to be still farther irritated by the painful consequences of a strict blockade, hastened to put horses to their carriages in order to make their escape from the city; and nothing was seen but parties flying in every direction.

The people finding themselves abandoned not only by every one who had the slightest chance of a favourable reception at the court, but by every one also whose habits or character rendered them apprehensive of staying in a city over which hung the cloud of a thousand evils, real and imaginary, gave themselves up to all the fury of despair, and insulted, injured, and in various instances attempted to massacre those whom they saw flying. A number of houses were attacked and pillaged; every one in the slightest degree attached to the court was marked for vengeance; and before six o'clock the whirlpool of angry passions, terror, regret, indignation and despair, which raged in Paris, would have gratified its enemies to behold. The vortex, however, of that whirlpool was the archbishopric; and thither every thing which floated on the surface of those turbulent waters was inevitably drawn. If the people, however, were furious as well as frightened, the parliament was seized with unmingled terror, and gave such manifest signs of yielding, that De Retz saw himself on the point of being abandoned, and obliged either to have recourse to an alliance with Spain and to rebellion unsupport-

ed by any but the lower classes of the people and the enemies of the country, or to submit to terms of pacification which would have put his head at the mercy of Mazarin.

The presence of Madame de Longueville afforded him, during the first day, a sort of security for the conduct of the Prince de Conti, her brother ; but when he saw the weak and pusillanimous conduct of the parliament, and that not only all the doubtful members of the high nobility had followed the court, but that several on whom he had counted as certain supporters had either gone with the regent or followed her immediately, he became greatly alarmed both for Paris and himself. Conti did not return ; the Prince de Marsillac had proceeded to St. Germain two hours after the departure of the King ; and at length it was discovered that the Duke of Longueville himself, although he had promised his immediate aid to the coadjutor, had turned towards the court as he came up from Normandy, and remained there without giving any intimation of his farther intentions.

In the mean time the Maréchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who had engaged himself on the side of the Fronde, declared that his movements would entirely depend upon those of the Duc de Longueville ; and the Duke of Bouillon, by far the most prudent and skilful of the whole party, showed a resolution of holding back till all the other nobles, of whom De Retz had promised him the

support, should be ready to afford it to him. How to conduct himself under such circumstances was not a little embarrassing to De Retz, and he despatched at length the Marquis de Noirmoutier upon the difficult and dangerous task of ascertaining the real sentiments of Conti, Longueville, and Marsillac, and, if possible, of bringing those princes back with all speed to Paris.

In the mean time the parliament went on in the feeble course with which it had begun, and despatched deputies to St. Germain to entreat the Queen to restore the young King to the capital, couching their message in such terms as to show that they were willing to make every sort of concession in order to avoid the danger they had brought upon themselves. A letter, however, had been left at the Hôtel de Ville, charging the parliament with various high crimes towards the King; and De Retz made use of it, and of every other means, to drive the parliament into courageous resistance even by the excess of its apprehensions. In this the conduct of Mazarin and the Queen seconded his views completely. The regent refused to hear the deputies from the parliament, and sent in one of the lieutenants of the garde du corps, bearing a decree of exile to that body, to the great council, and to the chamber of accounts.

During two whole days the parliament hesitated between resistance and submission. The chamber of accounts leaned towards unconditional obedi-

ence, and prepared to quit Paris, and proceed to Mantes, the appointed place of its banishment. Had it been suffered to do so, the contagion of example would have carried every other body at once to the feet of the Queen; but De Retz could command the city of Paris if he could not command the parliament, and he took care that passports should be refused to the members of the grand council.

While these transactions were taking place in Paris, other events were proceeding at St. Germain; and the troops were advancing to the support of the court, but no military movements of any great importance could as yet be made. Marsillac, Longueville, and Conti, though none of them supposed to be very well affected towards the government, were, nevertheless, not suspected of any immediate design to embrace the party of the parliament. De Retz, with prudent caution, had avoided mentioning their names to any one except the Duc de Bouillon, and the immediate chiefs of the party of the Fronde; and this prudent caution, in all probability, saved them from being arrested, as all that took place within the walls of Paris was very soon known at St. Germain.

There was a secret, however, in regard to the absence of Conti, with which De Retz himself, during all his life, seems to have been unacquainted, and which only slips into light through the Memoirs of Gourville. During the wars of the Fronde it must be remarked, that no one thought of or strove

for, in reality, anything but what he considered the shortest and most direct way to his own private interests; and this produced a sort of net-work of petty intrigues crossing and recrossing each other in such a manner as to have perplexed even the very persons concerned, and to have left a strange discrepancy in all the different accounts of contemporaries. Thus it may be established as a general rule, that none of the many memoirs which exist upon the subject can be relied upon, except in regard to the events in which the writer himself took an active part; making even then, of course, the usual allowances for passion, vanity, interest, and all the other species of selfishness which the act of recording one's own exploits is sure to bring into action.

When the Prince de Marsillac quitted Paris to follow the court, he did so with the expressed intention of bringing back the Prince de Conti, over whose mind he possessed great influence; but, in departing from the capital, he took care to leave behind his dexterous and trusty servant Gourville, with letters for the brother of the President de Longueil, who was one of six persons appointed by the parliament to manage all secret business. The object of Gourville was to open a negotiation with the leading members of the parliament, for the purpose of absolutely engaging that body to elect the Prince de Conti generalissimo of the Parisian troops in case of his return from the court. The mission of

Gourville was speedily terminated; and, having obtained the most positive assurances that that office would be bestowed upon the prince without any hesitation, he prepared to set out for St. Germain.

By this time, however, it was no easy task even to effect his exit from Paris. The deputies which had been sent to St. Germain by the parliament, had made their report of the reception they had met with; the chambers had become convinced that no concessions would be successful in turning away the Queen's wrath; and, as De Retz had anticipated, their fear worked itself up into fury. Orders were given for levying troops, and defending the city; and no one was suffered to pass out without strict investigation of his motives. Gourville, however, had taken the precaution of enlisting at once amongst the Parisian troops, and having obtained the post of lieutenant in a company raised by a pork butcher who resided opposite to his master's house; by his connivance, he had a spare horse provided while the company mounted guard at one of the outposts, and galloped off to St. Germain.

Immediately on receiving his report, the Prince de Conti determined to set out with Marsillac and Noirmoutier, and the hour of eleven on that very night was appointed for the attempt. Horses were stationed at a watering-place at a little distance from the palace, and a rendezvous was given to Marsillac and Gourville in the outer court. They proceeded thither accordingly at the appointed



hour ; but, remembering that the Prince de Conti was lame, Marsillac sent one of his attendants to the watering-place to bring up two horses, and on his return approached the building to make sure that the Prince de Conti did not pass without seeing him ; but at that moment some one came out of the palace with a flambeau. As he anticipated nothing less than immediate death if detected in the execution of such an enterprise, Marsillac hastened away to conceal himself, and in the mean while Conti and Noirmoutier issued forth and hurried on to the place where the horses had been stationed. Great danger to all parties was thus incurred ; Marsillac remained for some time, fearing every moment to be arrested, and trembling lest that fate had already befallen the Prince de Conti ; but at length he proceeded with Gourville and others to the place where the horses had been stationed, and there found that Conti and Noirmoutier had just passed with the Duke de Longueville. Believing, however, that the passage of those two princes might have alarmed the guard, Marsillac and his attendants proceeded by another road ; and after having more than once run the hazard of being shot at the outposts of the insurgent city, they at length reached the gates of Paris, where they were admitted after some delay.

In the mean time Conti, Longueville, and Noirmoutier had proceeded to the Porte St. Honoré, where, though it was still night, they found all the

agitated multitudes of a city in a state both of insurrection and siege. As soon as they presented themselves with their attendants, instead of being received with open arms, as they expected, they were met with shouts and execrations. Their purpose of joining the Fronde had been carefully concealed, for fear of causing their arrest at St. Germain; and the people at once became impressed with the idea that they came either to attack or to betray Paris. In this state, not daring to return to St. Germain, and not permitted to pass the gates, they were kept waiting till the point of dawn, when a number of torches were seen coming up the street, and to their great relief they beheld the coadjutor and a large body of their friends hastening to give them entrance. It was with difficulty even then that the people could be persuaded to permit their passage; but at length they were convinced by the assurances of De Retz, and suffered the weary princes to be conveyed to the Hôtel de Longueville.

The long delay which had taken place in the return of the Prince de Conti, had in the mean time thrown De Retz into the greatest difficulty. The fierce and determined tone assumed by the court, the refusal of the Queen to listen to any message from the chambers, and the preparations daily made for besieging the city, had roused the parliament from the state of supine terror into which it had fallen, and hurried it on to violent and extreme measures. What was called a Chamber of

Police had been held; the Duke of Montbazon, as governor of Paris, the *Prévôt des Marchands*, the *échevins* or sheriffs, and the representatives of the six merchant companies of Paris, with deputies from the parliament, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, met together, and, after a brief consultation, gave orders for levying ten thousand foot and four thousand horse. All the principal corps taxed themselves to support these troops, and the parliament, to justify the extreme measures of the city, and to place a barrier against all retreat, pronounced a decree by which Mazarin was declared by name to be an enemy of the king and of the state, and a disturber of the public peace; and, at the same time, all the subjects of the king were enjoined to pursue him to the death.

In the excitement of the moment no difficulty had been found in raising either money or men, and a large force was immediately on foot, but without any officers of consideration, and, above all, without a general whose rank might render him a rallying point for all the disaffected in the city. Neither to the parliament in general, nor to the people, did De Retz dare confide the name of the person who had been fixed on by himself and a few others to fill that office; and left unsupported, as we have shown, by the Duke of Bouillon and La Mothe-Houdancourt, all that he could do was to strive to keep the parliament from any decisive measures till the coming of Conti was ascertained. The sudden ap-

pearance, however, of the Duke d'Elbeuf, a prince of the house of Lorraine, had nearly overthrown the whole of the coadjutor's schemes. He came to offer his services to the city and the parliament; and he promised loudly to serve them as faithfully, and lead them as vigorously, as his relation, the famous Duke of Mayenne, had done in the times of the League. The very name of Mayenne, which he used so adroitly, was quite sufficient to carry with it all voices in Paris, so long as one of the house of Bourbon itself was not present to oppose him. After a few minutes' conversation with De Retz, in which he divined at once the coadjutor's design of thwarting him, the Duke proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville and made his offers of service.

In the night, however, as we have shown, arrived the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Longueville, who, worn out with anxiety and fatigue, retired to rest; and before they were awake the Duke d'Elbeuf had gone to present himself to the parliament. But De Retz in the mean time had proceeded through the city disguised and on foot, caballing, intriguing, arguing, persuading, for the purpose of creating a party to oppose the pretensions of the Duke d'Elbeuf to the post of generalissimo. That prince found, however, in the body of the parliament itself, a stronger support than he imagined. The Chief President Molé, and a party of which he was the head, though unwilling to see the body to which they belonged trampled under the feet of Mazarin,

were desirous of doing every thing to avoid a civil war. Molé was soon informed of the arrival of Conti, and was aware of the pretensions of the Duke d'Elbeuf, and he instantly conceived the design of causing such a schism in the faction of the Fronde as would prevent it from hurrying on the city to violent measures, but would not be sufficient to put a stop to the necessary preparations for defending Paris in case of need. The moment, therefore, that the Duke d'Elbeuf presented himself, Molé supported him with all his strength. To him were joined all that multitude of members who in general followed the dictation of the secret agents of De Retz ; but who, in the present instance, were too much terrified at seeing themselves in open rebellion against the court without any recognised commander, to hesitate at electing any person who had real pretensions to that office. In vain Broussel, Longueil, and Viole raised their voices against the duke ; Molé foiled them with their own weapons, pointed out the state of Paris, and the dangers and difficulties of which they had been raving during the last three or four days ; and the Duke d'Elbeuf was elected to the post of general by a very large majority.

De Retz now applied himself to destroy the influence of the Duke d'Elbeuf ; he obtained information of a correspondence which that prince carried on with the Abbé de la Rivière, which he communicated as a profound secret to four or five

hundred persons; he set all the curés in Paris to work in order to root out the duke from the favour of the parishioners; and so well did these sappers and miners labour under his directions, that very visible progress was made before night. At the same time the conclave of satirists, libellists, and couplet manufacturers, which met daily at the archbishopric, was set to work, and no mad dog that ever ran through Paris was more pelted than the Duke d'Elbeuf.

At the meeting of the parliament on the following day, a scene was enacted, which had been well prepared by all parties. News had arrived that the post of Charenton had been taken by the Prince de Condé, in order to cut off the supplies of Paris; and the agents of De Retz made the most of such a fact against the Duke d'Elbeuf. The parliament and the people were depressed by the tidings; but the coadjutor seized this opportunity for carrying the Prince de Conti to the Palais de Justice with vast pomp and magnificence. The sight of the splendid carriage in which he was placed, the number of attendants in gorgeous dresses by which he was followed, co-operated with the impressions which De Retz had taken such pains to spread during the preceding day, both in gratifying the multitude, and raising in their eyes the value of Conti's appearance amongst them.

He was now received with shouts and gratulations instead of suspicion and silence, and entering

the hall of the parliament he took his place, but without speaking, leaving that task to the Duke de Longueville, who accompanied him. The Duke rose immediately and informed the parliament, that he had come to offer them his services, as well as the towns of Rouen, Caen, Dieppe, and the whole of Normandy, of which he was governor; and he begged the parliament to consent that his wife and two children should be lodged at the Hôtel de Ville as a guarantee for the execution of his word. His speech was received with acclamations, which wrung the heart of the Duke d'Elbeuf. But the effect was still greater when the Duke of Bouillon, supported by two gentlemen on account of his illness from the gout, entered the hall, and, taking his place beside the Duke de Longueville, assured the parliament of his attachment, and added, that he should be delighted to serve it in the field, under the command of so high a prince as the Prince de Conti. At those words the Duke d'Elbeuf took fire, and declared, as he had done the day before, that he would not yield the general's baton but with his life. His voice, however, was almost drowned in murmurs, and, at that moment, what De Retz calls the third relay, was brought up. The Maréchal de la Mothe appearing, took his place beside the Duke de Bouillon, and offered his services to the parliament under the Prince de Conti.

The matter was now much advanced, but it was still far from concluded. The opinion of the parlia-

ment was changed with regard to the Duke d'Elbeuf, but it could not, with any decency, deprive him of the authority it had just given, unless he made a voluntary surrender thereof; and De Retz now hastened to show him that the opinions of the people were so much changed also, that if he did not resign the general's staff, they would snatch it from his hand. While the deliberations were still going on, he proceeded to seek the Duchess of Longueville and the Duchess of Bouillon, both beautiful and interesting, and both prepared to act a part in the scene he proposed to display. He had already caused the proposal of the Duke de Longueville to be spread amongst the populace; and hurrying the two princesses into a carriage, dressed with studied and artful negligence, but surrounded by a splendid suite, and followed by an immense crowd, he carried them with a kind of triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, where, each holding one of their beautiful children in their arms, they presented themselves upon the steps to the gaze of the multitude which crowded the Place de Grève almost to suffocation, filled every window, and covered the house-tops around. De Retz, in the mean time, threw handfuls of money from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville amongst the people, and then, leaving the princesses under the protection of the city, he returned to the Palais de Justice, followed by an immense multitude, whose acclamations rent the skies.



The sounds reached the Duke d'Elbeuf, who was still resisting, and they were interpreted to him as De Retz could have desired. His heart sunk, his firmness gave way, and, expressing himself willing to make any concessions out of respect to the Prince de Conti, he explained away, as far as possible, the angry words he had made use of; and would have yielded even the very rank of general, had not the good sense and good feeling of the Duke de Bouillon preserved him from so degrading a step. As soon as his determination was made known, every thing was easily arranged; the Prince de Conti was declared *generalissimo of the army of the King, under the orders of the parliament*,—such were the soft terms with which they clothed the rugged back of treason;—and the Dukes of Bouillon and Elbeuf, with the Maréchal de la Mothe, were declared generals under him.

The intrigues of De Retz had now completely succeeded: in spite of all the efforts of better intentioned people, a civil war was inevitable; the great and the little, the wise and the foolish, the rash and the prudent, the cowardly and the brave, were all engaged and jumbled up pell-mell on both sides; and the mixture was so strange, so heterogeneous, and so incomprehensible, that ridicule at once took possession of it, and the war began amongst fits of laughter on all parts. That very day the horsemen of Condé came galloping into the suburbs to fire their pistols at the Parisians; the

Marquis of Noirmontier went forth with the cavalry of the Fronde to skirmish with them, and, returning to the Hôtel de Ville, entered the circle of the Duchess de Longueville, followed by his officers, every one covered by his cuirass, as he came from the field: the hall was filled with ladies preparing to dance, the troops were drawn up in the square, and this mixture of blue scarfs and ladies, and cuirasses, and violins and trumpets, formed, says De Retz, a spectacle much more common in romances than anywhere else.

Thus began the wars of the Fronde; and the few scenes that we have given may be considered as their type and characteristic throughout.

## CHAPTER VII.

Blockade of Paris.—Capture of the Bastille.—Burlesque war.  
 —Storming of Charenton.—Inactivity of the Parisian forces.  
 Turenne prepares to support the Parliament,—is abandoned  
 by his Troops.—Negotiations of the Fronde with Spain.—  
 The royal herald rejected, and the Regent's letters returned.  
 —General state of the country.—Defection from the Fronde.  
 —A Spanish envoy received by the Parliament.—Mazarin  
 corrupts some of the insurgent leaders.—Negotiations for  
 Peace with the court.—Treaty signed with Spain.—Tumul-  
 tuous scenes in the Parliament.—Conduct of De Mesmes.—  
 Treaty with the Court.—Renewed Tumults.—Conduct of  
 Mathew Molé.—Treaty revised.—Peace restored.

WHILE such were the transactions within the walls of the city of Paris, the royal family at St. Germain proceeded to act on the determination which it had formed on quitting the capital, of neither returning, nor entering into any compromise whatsoever, till it had punished the parliament for its past revolt, and reduced its power to nothing for the future. The miserable state to which the whole court was reduced, the want of all clothing, bedding, provisions, and every necessary and luxury of life, did not at all shake this resolution. The remains of the army of Flanders advanced in haste, a small additional body was raised, and Condé,

with between six and seven thousand men, undertook the extravagant task of blockading the capital city. Placing his principal forces at Lagny, Corbeil, St. Cloud, St. Dennis, and Charenton, he endeavoured, by spreading out parties upon all the principal roads, to stop the entrance of all provisions into Paris.

It so happened that, on the very night during which the Prince de Conti and the Duke of Longueville made their escape from St. Germain, Condé had quitted the court in private, to put himself at the head of a body of troops, for the purpose of seizing upon Charenton; and as soon as the news of the desertion of his brother and the Duke of Longueville was made known to the queen and the cardinal, they were seized with terror at the idea that Condé himself was of the party. His return successful from Charenton, where he had met with some resistance, reassured the government, and he is said to have promised the queen, in the most solemn manner, not to abandon the cause of Mazarin till he had brought him back in triumph to the capital. The smallness of his forces, however, and the difficulty of raising more without money, embarrassed all his movements; and he was unable to take possession of Bric Comte Robert, so that from that side a supply of provisions was continually, though scantily, poured into Paris; while the fear of exposing the royal family to a *coup de main*, compelled him, after having kept posses-

sion of Charenton for some days, to abandon that post, which was immediately seized upon and fortified by the Parisians.

In the mean time, in the capital, commissions had been issued in the name of the *Prévôt des Marchands* and the *sheriffs of Paris*, a large body of troops had been raised, the nobles brought their own retainers into the field, each carriage entrance was taxed to furnish a man on horseback completely armed, and each lesser doorway an infantry soldier. A pecuniary composition however was permitted, and plenty of men were found willing to sell their services as substitutes in a war where no one had the slightest hesitation in running away. The first great effort of the Parisians was an attack upon the Bastille, which was summoned by the Duke d'Elbeuf on the evening of the 11th of January. It contained no force capable of resistance; but the governor, Du Tremblay, brother of the famous capuchin, Joseph, nominal confessor to Richelieu, affected to hold out with the twenty-two soldiers under his command. The ladies of Paris proceeded to the neighbourhood to behold the siege; and so ridiculous was the whole transaction, that the *Courrier Burlesque* declares, though the cannon fired, and the people talked of a breach, that neither party charged with ball, and that before each gun notice was given to the adverse party to get out of the way.

Du Tremblay, however, after having used what

little powder he possessed in entertaining the ladies of Paris with a cannonade, and having endured a few shots in return—which, we are told, effected a breach, though the breach was never perceptible to any eyes but those that made it—agreed to surrender if he were not relieved within four-and-twenty hours. It was not very probable that any succour would arrive to his aid, and, accordingly, the next day the Bastille was surrendered, and the government thereof bestowed upon old Broussel by the parliament, with a promise of the reversion to his son.

On the following morning, the first regiment of Parisian cavalry was mustered, quaintly described by the satirist of the times as being horse rather than foot, to be the more ready to run away from the royal troops. On the same day, however, a more important addition was received by the forces of the Frondeurs. The Duke of Beaufort suddenly made his appearance in Paris; and all those who were determined to pursue Mazarin to the utmost, were delighted to see the faction joined by a man between whom and the minister such acts had taken place as to render their enmity to all appearance immitigable. The parliament also received him with open arms, investigated the charges which had been made against him, pronounced him innocent, and received him in right of his peerage. Every day afterwards his popularity increased; but that popularity was already so great, that on

his sudden appearance in Paris, after his long imprisonment and exile, he is said to have been nearly smothered with kisses by the old women of the markets, with whom he was ever an especial favourite.\* He affected their language, their gestures, and their manner; and he acquired for himself the appellation, as we have before mentioned, of *Le Roi des Halles*, or the King of the Markets, in which capacity he certainly distinguished himself much more than as high admiral of France, which he afterwards became.

It was with considerable difficulty that the gallant troops of the revolted city could be brought to meet their adversaries in the field, and in their efforts they became the laughing-stock of the opposite party. The difficult task of escorting provisions into the city gave them quite occupation sufficient to expend the stock of courage that they possessed; and large troops of cavalry went out

\* The words of the "Courrier Burlesque de la Guerre de Paris" are

Jamais il ne refusa  
Ni harangère, ni marchande,  
Jeune, vieille, laide, galande,  
Qui lui criaient à qui plus fort  
"Baissez-moi, Monsieur de Biaufort."  
L'une tendait un vilain moufle,  
L'autre rendait un vilain soufle;  
L'une étalait ses cheveux blancs,  
L'autre ne montrait que trois dents,  
Dont l'ébène était suffisante  
Pour en faire plus de cinquante.

to attack handfuls of the royal forces, and bring in supplies necessary for the subsistence of the city. Although the side of Brie was still open, Paris was considerably straitened, and the higher and the middling classes began to feel their resolution diminish at the prospect of famine. The apprehension of the citizens was increased by a tremendous overflowing of the Seine, which swept away some of the mills by the water side, and drowned a great number of persons and much cattle. Still the troops of the Parisians went out and returned amidst the shouts and laughter of the very people who sent them forth. A large force was despatched to attack Corbeil, composed of the better order of citizens, described as having their hair curled, silk stockings and shoes on, but very scanty arms and little courage. They proceeded in the midst of a tremendous storm of wind and rain, which diminished their numbers and their courage every moment, till they arrived at the little hamlet of Juvisy, where a small post had been established by the royalists. That post, however, proved quite sufficient to drive back the redoubtable army of the Parisians, who entered Paris on the following morning in such a deplorable condition as to excite the merriment of the Duke of Beaufort himself.

On another occasion, the regiment of cavalry which had been raised by De Retz, who was titular Archbishop of Corinth, went out against the enemy, under the command of the Marquis de Sévigné,



and, being encountered near Lonjumeau, was driven back into Paris pell-mell by the cavaliers of the Prince de Condé. The defeated enterprise of De Retz's horsemen received from their witty brethren of Paris the name of *The first of the Corinthians*. The regiments that were furnished by the carriage entrances, called *portes cochères*, obtained for the Marquis de Boullaye, who commanded them, the title of the *Général des Portes cochères*; and the whole forces brought into the field by the French metropolis, laughed at by their companions, hooted by the people, without any confidence in each other, and taught to believe that cowardice was all that was expected of them, were inspired with but one spirit, which was the spirit of running away. Nevertheless, towards the end of January, the Prince de Conti gained a great advantage by taking possession of Charenton, which Condé had abandoned. This post was immediately fortified by the Parisians; and a determined officer of the name of Clanlen, at the head of a body of three thousand men, chosen from the best troops of Paris, was appointed to defend it. Finding, however, that this strong post gave the Parisians the means of bringing in constant supplies, Condé determined to attack it, and, without raising the blockade in which he held the capital, he drew from each of the different garrisons around a sufficient number of men to make up a force of three thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry.

This small army assembled during the night between the 7th and 8th of February, in the valley of Fecamp; and, early on the morning of the 8th, Condé having put himself at their head, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, and all the high nobility who had followed Anne of Austria from Paris, he directed his friend the Duke de Chatillon to lead the infantry to the attack of Charenton, while he himself occupied the heights with his cavalry, in order to fight the insurgents if they came to support that post. The Parisian troops, however, were not at all disposed to fall under the lash of Condé. They issued forth, indeed, to the number of more than ten thousand, with all their generals at their head, and De Retz himself, with pistols at his saddle-bow, displaying more determination than many of the others. Long consultations were held amongst their leaders as to whether they should attack Condé, but during those consultations Chatillon marched forward upon Charenton, and the battle on that side began. The noise of musketry and artillery was not calculated to inspire the troops of the Fronde with fresh courage; and although they more than tripled the number with which Condé was prepared to oppose them, all the generals, with the exception of De Retz, decided that it would be madness to attack the prince, in order to relieve Charenton. They were probably well informed of the exact quantity of courage possessed by their soldiery, and they stood and

looked on composedly while the severe fight which took place was going on at Charenton, without making the slightest effort to assist Clanleu. That officer, however, defended the post that had been assigned to him with the most gallant determination; the regiment of Navarre, which led the attack, was driven back with severe loss; and for a time it appeared doubtful whether the troops of Condé would not be ultimately repulsed. Chatillon, however, at length put himself at the head of the reserve, and led it up to the entrenchments, which were carried at the point of the pike, almost at the same moment that the duke himself received a musket-wound, from which he died on the following day. The opposite commander also, Clanleu, as well as most of the officers who supported him, died in defence of Charenton; or rather, in order to prove that some of the troops of the Fronde possessed courage and determination equal to their adversaries, for, at the moment that Clanleu was killed, Charenton was absolutely in the hands of the royalists. His determination was to die: the troops of Chatillon had been successful in front, and some battalions of infantry had made their way round through the gardens, and took their enemies in flank. The marquis, however, and his supporters, still resisted, and a number were killed by Clanleu's own hand. At length, one of the Queen's soldiers called to him to surrender, and offered him quarter, but was cut

down on the spot by Clanleu, who was immediately put to death by those who followed. The only person of distinction that saved himself from the bloody fight of Charenton was the Marquis de Coignac, who, after having contended gallantly to the last, sprang upon a large detached piece of ice which was floating down the river, and which bore him in safety within the lines of the Parisians.

Thus ended the day of Charenton, a day which tended more to depress the Parisians than anything which had occurred during the course of the siege. It is true that their forces had hitherto done nothing which showed anything like courage or determination, and that the gallant resistance of Clanleu might have set an example of conduct which would have rendered the operations of Condé much more difficult. But, on the other hand, the troops of Condé had previously had no opportunity of displaying the advantages of discipline and experience; and the depressing effect of the loss of Charenton, of the probable stoppage of all supplies from a quarter where they had previously been procured in abundance, and of the total failure of the most gallant effort that had yet been made on the side of the Parisians, was much greater than the inspiring effect of Clanleu's example.

The conduct of the generals, too, had been anything but such as inspires confidence. Thirty thousand men had been under arms in Paris during the night of the 7th and the morning of the 8th;

more than ten thousand had gone forth to relieve Charenton; and yet, though Condé occupied the heights of St. Mandé with only three thousand, the French generals had done nothing but deliberate and look on, while Charenton was taken before their eyes. The reasons assigned by the Parisian generalissimo for not having risked a battle with treble the forces of his adversary, was only fit to cause laughter, or create despair. "Having held a council of war," said the Prince de Conti in giving a full account of his expedition to the assembled chambers,—“ Having held a council of war, to determine whether we should give battle or not, it was unanimously resolved not to do so, and not to hazard the life of a great number of infantry composed of the burghers of Paris, who had gone out under arms, (and whose courage we cannot sufficiently praise,) for fear of making their wives and children cry if some of them should have been lost, which must inevitably have happened.”

Nor was the motive forced upon the generals by the parliament much more reasonable or dignified, though it assumed an air of policy and strategic knowledge somewhat above the Prince de Conti's compassion for the citizens' wives. "There is much reason to believe," said the journal of the parliament, "that the Prince de Condé only made this attack to draw the Parisians into a battle, promising himself to defeat them." The journal goes on to insinuate, that in this skilful-design Condé would

have been successful, had he not been prevented by the foresight of the Parisian generals, who were pertinaciously resolved not to fight at all. The Parisians laughed at their generals, as well they might, but were not the less astounded by the loss of Charenton, notwithstanding all the fair reasons of their generals; and the Prince de Condé had a monkey dressed up as a generalissimo, and mounted on horseback, to represent his deformed brother, the Prince de Conti.

The leaders of the Fronde, however, found that they were losing ground. The people became dispirited, and it was plain that, unless some advantages could be obtained, Paris could not hold out much longer. Accordingly, in order to restore some degree of confidence, the Duke de Beaufort went out, two days after the battle of Charenton, in order to meet Noirmoutier, who was escorting a large quantity of provisions from the side of Etampes. Beaufort had stopped, however, on the way, to attack the mills of Charenton, when he received information that the Duke de Grammont was advancing with all speed to cut off the convoy. He accordingly hastened forward to meet Noirmoutier, but was attacked, and at first driven back to Vitry. At the entrance of that village, he made a sudden halt, wheeled, charged the enemy, and, after a severe struggle, forced them to retreat. Several officers fell on both sides; and the report was industriously spread that Nerlieu, or Noirlicu,

commanding the regiment of Mazarin, had been killed by the hand of the Duke of Beaufort himself, though many writers assert that that officer fell at a great distance from the Parisian general.

In the mean while the news spread to Paris that Beaufort was engaged with the enemy; and the spirit of the Parisians was raised in defence of their favourite. Men, women, and children ran to arms; and in less than an hour thirty thousand persons of all ages and sexes were upon the road, armed with swords, halberts, spears, spits, knives, and everything that they could snatch up in order to bear their little portion of succour to the duke. A tremendous massacre might have been the consequence, had any large force been really opposed to Beaufort; but the multitudes who thus went out to offer their throats to the enemy, found their favourite returning victorious; and he and the convoy were escorted into Paris at night in the midst of illuminations and shouts of "Long live the Duke of Beaufort!"

While the populace, and even the principal citizens, were alone moved to hope or fear by the passing transactions which took place before their eyes, and were now elevated, and now depressed, as this party or that had the advantage in a skirmish, as a herd of cattle was delayed, or the loaf of bread became a sous cheaper, the chief leaders of the Fronde had fixed their eyes afar, and regarded the incidents which were taking place in Paris and its neighbour-

hood principally in relation to the effects produced upon other events by which the ultimate result of the contest was likely to be determined. The resistance of Paris to the will of the regent, and whether that resistance was successful or not, was, of course, a principal object ; but other means had been taken to give it success, much more likely to prove effectual than the halberds and spits of the lower classes, the black mantles and inexperienced swords of the burghers, or the constitutional bravery, levity, and licentiousness of the nobles and their followers. Negotiations had been opened with Spain,—with the declared enemy of the country ; but, before we proceed to notice particularly the transactions of the insurgent city with the Spaniards, we must speak of another means of strengthening themselves, which the leaders of the Fronde had adopted.

The words rebellion and treason are generally used to convey very nearly the same idea ; but the difference between them was immediately felt by many of the leaders of the Fronde when it was proposed to ally themselves to the Spaniards, and to call in the forces which had so lately fought against France itself, to aid in their opposition to the government of the regent. They were already in rebellion, it is true, but the step proposed, they felt, would be treason. No such motives, however, operated to deter any of them from entreating the famous Turenne to bring the victorious forces with



which he had just swept the whole of Bavaria, to support the parliament and city of Paris in resisting the will of the sovereign. The principal part of his troops were Germans, it is true, but they had never fought against France; and, in calling them to their aid, the Parisians made a nice, but strong, distinction between rebellion against their government, and treason towards their country. Every effort, therefore, was employed to induce Turenne to march as fast as possible to Paris with his army, and give his full support to the faction in which his brother, the Duke of Bouillon, had already engaged. At the same time, however, the Queen, the Prince de Condé, and Mazarin, wrote letter after letter to the great commander, beseeching him to remain faithful to his king, and explaining away, as far as possible, the tergiversation and procrastination which the court had shown in regard to the long-promised compensations for the principality of Sedan, which was the ostensible cause of the Duke of Bouillon's junction with the Frondeurs.

The person charged with these letters was the famous Hervart, a celebrated financier and afterwards comptroller of finance. He was directed to second all the arguments which had been used with Turenne, and was requested to pay him, if possible, the arrears due to the Weimarian troops, being likewise empowered to place in his hand various commissions or provisions to the government of

Alsace, and several other districts. Turenne, however—already discontented to the highest degree with Mazarin, urged by his brother, and by many of his friends in Paris, as well as a little jealous, perhaps, of Condé, and not unwilling to measure swords with him—replied coldly to all the overtures of the court; and though he promised not to violate his fidelity to the king, those words were subject in that day to so many interpretations, that it was not improbable the great protestant general would seek a political absolution for the breach of his oath, from the parliament of Paris, with as much devotion and faith in its efficacy as any true catholic would display in a papal indulgence.

At length Turenne began his march, and, assembling his principal officers, he announced to them his intention of advancing upon Paris; but professed, as usual, the most pacific motives in the warlike step he was about to take. He declared that he was neither going to support the parliament against the king, nor the minister against the parliament; but that the object of his march was to induce the court to re-enter Paris, to make the cardinal give an account of his administration, to put an end to the troubles of the capital, and last, not least, to cause the arrears of the Weimarian pay to be discharged, and the French troops under his command to be honoured and rewarded. At the same time he published a manifesto to this effect, which left no farther doubt of his intentions.

But while he had temporized with the court, Turenne had most unwisely suffered the emissaries of Mazarin to approach much too near to his army. Hervart, loaded with all the gold that could be mustered, was also furnished with a general order to the forces, forbidding them to recognize any farther the authority of Turenne. A number of the principal officers had been gained early, three hundred thousand crowns were distributed amongst the troops, larger sums still were promised, the general order was published as a comment upon the commander's manifesto, and Turenne found himself in a moment deserted. Six regiments marched at once to Brisac, three others proceeded to Philipsburg; and Turenne, perceiving not only that he could not depend upon a man that remained, but that he was likely to be as easily arrested as any ensign of infantry, spoke a few words to the regiments that remained with him, in praise of that obedience to the royal authority which he had prepared to throw off, and bidding them seek Count d'Erlach, who had been appointed by the court to command them, he himself fled into Holland, accompanied by only twenty of those whom he had so frequently led to victory.

In the mean while, the leaders of the Fronde remained in full expectation that Turenne would be successful with his army; and finding that the parliament was not only gradually falling into a state of tranquillity, but showed a disposition to make

peace with the court if it could be done upon reasonable terms, De Retz, the Duke of Bouillon, and some others resolved to strengthen their faction by an alliance with Spain, and opened a communication with the Archduke Leopold, who had been appointed governor of the Low Countries. Fuensaldaña, who acted as his minister, gladly seized the very first overture, and sent a monk named Arnolfini to confer with the coadjutor and the Duke of Bouillon, and to investigate what were the desires, purposes, and capabilities of those two leaders. Arnolfini was well adapted for the office he undertook, shrewd, cunning, capable and ready, as well as competent, to play any part that it might be necessary to assume. He was furnished with powers from the archduke; but those powers were not sufficient, and after long consultations between Bouillon and De Retz, it was determined to keep the arrival of the monk secret for a time, to manufacture an address from him to the chambers, to strip him of his gown and cowl, to dress him up as a Spanish cavalier of importance, and to present him under this appearance to the generals, the people, and the parliament, as a regular envoy from the archduke. The name of Arnolfini did not suit the ears of the coadjutor and the Duke of Bouillon, and they determined upon calling him Don Josef de Illescas. The presidents of Longueuil and Bellèvre are supposed to have composed for him a new letter of credence; while Bouillon and De

Retz drilled him to their purposes, and prepared him for the part he had to play.

Their measures were hurried to a consummation, however, sooner than might have otherwise been the case, by an event which, opening to the Parisian parliament the opportunity of effecting all that they could desire, by means of negotiation, bade fair to frustrate the views of all the interested leaders of the Fronde, and leave them at the mercy of the court they had offended. This was the arrival at the gates of Paris of a herald from the king on the morning of the 12th of February 1649, covered with the tabard of his arms, and charged to deliver three packets from the regent to the Prince de Conti, to the Parliament, and to the Prévôt des marchands.

It may be necessary, however, in the first place, to take a general view of the state of events which had produced such a change in the feelings of the court as to induce the minister to send a herald to communicate with that very rebellious city, the deputies from which the Queen had even refused to hear, in the beginning of the siege. This change was produced by various causes, some favourable to the court and some favourable to the Parisians, but all tending to lead Anne of Austria to treat with the revolted subjects of her son. Although the cause of the Parisian parliament had been adopted at once by a great many of the provincial parliaments, and although

certain towns had shown a disposition to revolt, the spirit of insurrection had not spread through the land by any means so generally as the leaders of the Fronde had endeavoured to make the populace of Paris believe. The Duke of Longueville, who had proceeded into Normandy immediately after the commencement of the siege of Paris, had written to announce that he had complete command of the city and parliament of Rouen, and doubted not that he should be able to bring the whole of the rich province of Normandy over to the interests of the Fronde. He spoke also of marching to the aid of the capital with a thousand gentlemen and three thousand soldiers. This was immediately magnified by De Retz and his companions into an army of ten thousand men already on its march to the relief of Paris. Provence was represented by the same party to be in a complete state of revolt, the parliament of Aix was regarded as making common cause with that of Paris, and a large force was confidently expected from that quarter. The same was the case with Bordeaux and Guienne, with Rennes and Brittany. Such had been the expectations with which the spirits of the more respectable citizens of Paris had been kept up in the commencement of the siege; but such expectations proved fallacious, and every day tended to dissolve the illusion. The promised miracles of the Duke of Longueville remained unperformed; the armies of Provence and

Guienne were neither seen nor heard of; the apprehension each day of starving the next, was unpleasant to a body of men not totally detached from the small enjoyments of life; and the daily calls made by the parliament upon their purses proved very troublesome and importunate to personages who, being accustomed to gain by small sums, did not like to lose large ones without any prospect of compensation. In short, the middle classes of Paris, as well as a large portion of the higher classes, and even some members of the Fronde itself, began to grow heartily tired of the civil war, and desirous of a peace with the court upon any terms. In these views a number of the most talented members of the parliament coincided, and the spirit by which they were actuated was spreading rapidly, though silently, to all the other members of that body.

These facts soon became well known at the court, and the prospect of making an advantageous peace was of course agreeable to a large body of gentlemen and ladies who, after having been accustomed to all sorts of luxuries for many years, were now obliged to sleep upon straw, and to trust each day to the chapter of accidents for the dinner of the next. But that which rendered the Queen and her minister the more disposed to seek for a termination of the war by a compromise with the parliament, was the little probability there existed of arriving at that termination by any other means.

The army of the court had, indeed, increased considerably; but it was still altogether inadequate to keep up a strict blockade upon the capital. At the same time, the Parisian forces had been more than trebled; Condé, as De Retz said, could not be everywhere; and each day large bodies of the Parisian horse went out, and returned with convoys of provisions, in spite of all that could be done to prevent such a result.

At the same time, the infectious spirit of the Fronde was communicating the disease to various high officers, the governors of important fortresses on the frontiers; and holding their honour and fidelity at nought, they were preparing to put at the disposal of a faction in the capital the cities they would have held out to the last drop of their blood against a foreign enemy, only making terms with their mistresses or their friends as the price of their capitulation. "*Peronne est à la belle des belles,*" wrote the Maréchal de Hoquincourt to Madame de Montbazon, and the strong fortress of Mezières was promised to De Retz by Bussy Lamets. Nor was this all: in order to strengthen the army of the Prince de Condé, a number of the garrisons on the frontier had been left in a state of such weakness, as to have no doubt that if the war should be protracted into the spring, nothing but misconduct on the part of the adversary would prevent the whole of the late conquests of France from being snatched from the weak grasp in which



she held them. All these motives induced the whole court to look anxiously to any means of opening a communication with the parliament which might end in bringing about a peace ; and the despatch of the herald to Paris was the result.

His appearance at the gates threw De Retz into a state of consternation and embarrassment : he knew not what was in the letters, but he well knew that the parliament was inclined to seize every means of accommodation, and his great object was to prevent such being the case. Under these circumstances, he persuaded old Broussel that the despatch of the herald to the gates of Paris was a trap laid by Mazarin ; that heralds were never sent but to enemies ; and that, therefore, if the parliament received him, it would at once acknowledge that it was itself the enemy of the king. This doctrine was expounded by Broussel to the parliament, who adopted it blindly. Those who sought to oppose the proposition of sending back the herald were hissed down at once ; but, at the same time, some wise member of the parliament added to the decree for rejecting the Queen's letter, (which was done under the pretence of respect and loyalty,) that a deputation, on receiving a safe conduct, should be sent to wait upon the regent, in order to explain the motives of the parliament in refusing to give admission to her messenger, and, farther, to receive her majesty's commands.

Those simple words were the destruction of all

De Retz's plans, and the accomplishment of all the wishes of Mazarin : for the deputation from the parliament afforded at once an opportunity for commencing negotiations without showing in the slightest degree that the queen sought an accommodation with the insurgent capital, which was all that the cardinal desired.

Perceiving what was likely to ensue, De Retz hurried his movements to counteract it ; and the next move in the game was the production of the metamorphosed capuchin, who, in the borrowed plumage of a Spanish cavalier, appeared at midnight on the Parisian stage, and proceeded, as if post-haste, to the house of the Duke d'Elbeuf, who had been kept in ignorance of the pantomime part of the affair preceding, and took him for a pure and unadulterated envoy, sent to him by his magnanimous friend the Archduke Leopold. He received the honour of the envoy's visit as a high compliment ; but when he had got him, he seems to have been somewhat puzzled what to do with him. He invited all the principal leaders to dinner on the following day, and then, with great airs of mystery and importance, communicated to the whole party the arrival of the envoy, and the magnificent offers of the archduke.

Those who were acquainted with the previous steps laughed at the success of the first part of their plan, and having completely taken in their own companions, proceeded to play off the same farce

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upon the parliament. This, however, was the most important step of the whole affair. Bouillon, though eagerly urged to enter into a treaty with Spain both by his wife and De Retz, though seeing that the ultimate safety of his party must depend upon such a measure, dared not take one step therein unsupported by the parliament, well knowing that no scruple would prevent that body from proceeding against the leaders of the Fronde for treason if they went one step in rebellion beyond itself. Could the parliament, however, be induced to receive, recognize, and treat with, in any shape or manner whatsoever, an envoy from the archduke, the avowed enemy of France, it put handcuffs on its own hands, and debarred itself for ever from the power of striking those who took its conduct for their precedent, although they might go a thousand degrees farther than it intended.

The Duke d'Elbeuf put it upon the Prince de Conti, as generalissimo, to announce to the parliament the arrival of the envoy from the archduke, and to demand his admission. De Retz, though by this time he had obtained with great difficulty a seat in the parliament during the absence of his uncle, always kept himself back in the commencement of delicate affairs, reserving his powers to support vigorously the purposes he had first propounded by the mouths of others. No sooner had the Prince de Conti made the proposal of admitting the envoy, than the president De Mesmes, a

partisan of the court, rose and burst forth against the Prince with a torrent of eloquence that shook and moved the whole assembly. Conti was thunderstruck and silent; but De Mesmes, carried away by his own passionate oratory, made use of a few words, which, adroitly taken hold of by De Retz, raised the *esprit de corps* of the parliament at once against him. He spoke of the scandal of admitting an envoy from the enemies of the country, when they had just sent away a herald from their king upon the most frivolous pretexts.

“How!” cried De Retz, starting up. “You will permit me, sir, not to look upon those motives as frivolous which the parliament has consecrated by its solemn decree.” Those words were enough; the tide was turned, loud murmurs rose from every part of the hall, and De Mesmes could never recover his advantage.

The question, however, was still debated furiously: so nearly were the parties balanced by this time in the parliament itself, that during the whole of the day it was doubtful which way the decision would turn, and a very small matter would have determined it for either side. That which at length did determine it was hunger. De Retz engaged a number of the young counsellors to keep the parliament occupied with speeches, which he acknowledges to have been utterly impertinent, for a great many hours; none of the members had dined, the greater part of them had not breakfasted,

and the gnawings of the sharp-toothed fiend of a strong appetite, gradually produced an impatience to settle the question one way or another, which, hour by hour, and minute by minute, grew into an impatience to settle it any way. It seems that the party of the Fronde had the strongest stomachs; and as they persevered in demanding that the envoy should be admitted, he was admitted when their colleagues could resist no longer.

He was received with high respect, made to sit and cover himself; and after his powers were read, which proved to be very general and indefinite, he rose and made a speech in explanation of those powers, assuring the chambers that the archduke had received overtures from Mazarin of the most favourable kind, which he had rejected out of respect for the parliament. He went on to say that the governor well knew the frontier places of France to be almost without garrisons; but that out of reverence for the sapient body which his envoy was then addressing, he refrained from attacking them; and the speech ended with magnificent offers, of troops, and everything that could be desired. Eighteen thousand men, the messenger assured his auditors, were on the frontier ready to succour the parliament and city of Paris; he proposed to enter into immediate conferences with the chambers, to render them the arbiters of peace, and to suffer them even to put French officers over the troops which were to be sent to support them.

The speech of the deputy was ordered to be taken down, and signed by himself; and it was afterwards determined that a copy thereof should be borne to the Queen regent by a solemn deputation, who were charged to assure her of the fidelity of her devoted parliament, and to beseech her to give peace to Europe by treating with the Spaniards, and peace to France by raising the siege of her city of Paris. This having been resolved, and the envoy distinctly received and treated with by the parliament, De Retz and his fellow conspirators retired well satisfied, and immediately commenced a negotiation with Spain on their own part, through the medium of the Duchess of Chevreuse, who was then at Brussels, and of various other agents well practised, during the last reign, in carrying on treason.

It is curious, however, to observe how frequently De Retz, with all his subtlety and skill, overreached himself. His spirit of intrigue, though keen, clear-sighted, quick and decided, was too active and bustling a spirit to compete with the quiet, tranquil, persevering subtlety of Mazarin, who, with the help of his good friend Time, profited by every fault which the coadjutor committed, to rectify and recover from his own.

In the business of the herald, De Retz thought to the end of his life, that he had effected a very admirable manœuvre; but the contents of the herald's letters have never been known. It is very

possible that, had they been received, matter would have been found in them to inflame the parliament once more against the court; but by refusing to receive them, and then by deputing persons to explain to the regent its motives for so doing, the parliament opened that communication with the court which it was so much the coadjutor's object to prevent. By inducing, or, if we may so call it, forcing the parliament to receive the Spanish envoy, De Retz, while he gained one point, lost another of great importance. All the more moderate members of the parliament, all who entertained any doubt as to the course they were pursuing, were placed at once in direct opposition to the party who had not been contented without adding treason to rebellion; and many even who had voted for the reception of the envoy under the pressure of hunger, excitement, and commotion, began to ask themselves, as soon as they had dined and grown cool, whether any pretext would be sufficient to justify the parliament of Paris in calling in foreign and hostile troops to fight the native forces of their sovereign, and make war upon him at the gates of his capital. There can be little doubt that the business of the Spanish envoy did more harm to De Retz and his views, both with the parliament itself and the more respectable classes of citizens throughout Paris, than any other act during the whole siege.

At the same time the wise and prudent conduct

of the Queen and Mazarin at this period tended greatly to overthrow the power of the faction opposed to them, by depriving it of its greatest support, the countenance of the parliament. Having reduced the city of Paris, and the chambers themselves, to look anxiously for peace, and having raised up a separate feeling between the Fronde and the middling classes of the capital, the court no longer maintained the harsh tone that it had at first assumed, but showed itself perfectly disposed to adopt mild measures and grant reasonable terms. On the same day that the envoy from the archduke was received by the parliament, the deputies who had been sent to the queen to explain the exclusion of the herald returned, and made so favourable a report, that the well-intentioned members, with the chief president at their head, resolved to pursue the negotiation with the court, in spite of all opposition. Every rash and violent act to which the parliament was afterwards excited by an unnatural pressure from the Fronde only determined those members to follow their course with the greater perseverance, and, even by the reaction produced, daily brought more and more persons over to the pacific party.

De Retz and Bouillon, Longueil, and others, saw clearly that this was the case, and were thrown into the greatest anxiety in consequence. The most violent measures were proposed and discussed;—a general popular rising was suggested;



the imprisonment of the parliament in a body, or the expurgation of all those members opposed to the Fronde, was advised : but in all these propositions so much danger, difficulty, and uncertainty were described by the leaders themselves, that while they discussed the means of stopping the pacific measures towards which the parliament was hurrying, they failed to decide upon any effectual plan. In the mean while, with wise perseverance, the deputies from the parliament continued to negotiate with the court, concealing every obstacle which was thrown in their way by the government, palliating or softening every obnoxious expression made use of by the regent or her counsellors, and magnifying and ornamenting every word or proposal which could soften the way for an accommodation, and tranquillize the ruffled and irritable spirits of the parliament.

This became more and more evident to the leaders of the Fronde every day ; and while Mazarin thus laboured effectually to separate the parliament from the Fronde, he proceeded to attack the Fronde itself, in its very heart, by a means natural to his character and familiar to his habits,—that of corruption. Various excuses were found for sending in different messengers to the capital, who were instructed to deal underhand with several influential members of the party, in order to bring them over by hopes, fears, or doubts, to the interests of the court. The Duke de Rochefoucault, it

would appear; was soon gained; and had he not been severely wounded and unable to pursue the necessary intrigues, would, in all probability, have brought over at once the Duchess de Longueville and the Prince de Conti. Madame de Montbazon was also tampered with, but without the same degree of success.

In the mean time, the leaders of the Fronde, unaware of what had taken place, looked confidently for the arrival of Turenne, at the same time continuing to treat with the archduke; and the plan laid down by De Retz was to march the Parisian army out of the city in order to take up such a position as to facilitate the constant entrance of provisions into the capital, till the armies of Turenne and the archduke should arrive, and place such a force at the disposition of the Fronde as would put the government entirely at its mercy. Had these anticipations been realized and this scheme executed, the parliament also would have been obliged to succumb to the authority of the faction: but I have already shown how one part of the scheme was defeated, and the difficulty of executing the other was found much greater than had been expected. De Retz, however, used all his skill and influence with the people, which was enormous, to terrify the parliament in regard to the treaty which it was so eagerly disposed to negotiate, taking care indeed not to excite the populace to such a degree as to render them

unmanageable. At the same time, the generals of the army, in order to mark that they disapproved the proceeding of the chambers, refused to send deputies to the place of conference, declaring in a tone of high disinterestedness, that provided the parliament was satisfied and the rights of the people secured, they were ready at once to lay down their arms.

The time till the 4th of March was passed in negotiations preliminary to those which were to determine the terms of pacification. On that day, however, the regular conferences commenced at Ruel, and the Parisian army marching out of the city, took up a position in the neighbourhood of Villejuif, between the Marne and the Seine, which had been skilfully chosen by the Duke of Bouillon, whose military talents, though inferior perhaps to those of his brother Turenne, were certainly of a very high order.

The next day, a new envoy arrived from the Low Countries, of a much more dignified character than the former. This was Don Francisco Pizarro, who was furnished with full powers from the archduke to treat with all parties in the capital, and to offer a *carte blanche* as to the terms; so eager was Spain to encourage and keep up the revolt of the capital. At the same time arrived the gratifying news that Turenne had positively declared against the court, and that he was about to march upon Paris.

All this raised the spirits of the leaders of the Fronde, but had very nearly hurried them on to enter into immediate engagements with Spain without the sanction of the parliament. De Retz, however, saw clearly the consequences which would ensue; that is to say, that if they did as they proposed, called the Spaniards into Paris, and raised the populace against the parliament, the generals might be for one day tribunes of the people, but the next day would become the lackeys of Count Fuensaldaña. The Duke of Bouillon, on the contrary, seemed determined to hurry them to such steps; but Mazarin, who learned all that was proceeding in Paris, had not yet heard the success of his own measures with regard to the army of Turenne; and, in much apprehension for the result, he renewed his intrigues in Paris, offering to all individuals immense advantages if they would come over to the court. His proceedings in this respect entangled the tangled web of intrigues going on in the capital even more than before. The Duke d'Elbeuf and his family, who sought for nothing on earth but money, were bought in a piece by Mazarin. Madame de Montbazon, gained at length, shook the resolution of the Duke of Beaufort; Conti and Madame de Longueville wavered; La Motte looked round for the greatest advantages to be gained; and De Retz and Bouillon, who were the only ones that held out, were opposed to each other in regard to the measures to be taken: Bouillon

being determined, as we have shown, to sign a separate treaty with Spain without the consent of the parliament; while De Retz, in addition to his former objections to that measure, saw that almost all his companions entertained vague purposes of soon reconciling themselves to the court, and yet forcing the greatest possible personal advantages from the grasp of Mazarin, while covered by the shield of Spain.

The treaty, however, was agreed upon and signed, notwithstanding the opposition of De Retz; and in the mean while, the deputies from the parliament proceeded to negotiate with the court, and hastened all their measures, in consequence of the means which the Fronde took to prevent them. Whenever the deputies returned from Ruel, they were met by the hisses and hootings of the people; and in the parliament itself De Retz took care to embarrass all their negotiations with daily demands, frequent tergiversation, and speeches calculated to irritate the Queen and Mazarin, and to create suspicions in regard to the purposes of the parliament. The generals, at the same time, while still declaring that they were ready to lay down their arms as soon as the parliament was satisfied, nevertheless proceeded to assume a more and more determined attitude against the court: they selected and drilled their soldiery better than before; they increased the pay of the army, and in the formidable position they had assumed between the Seine and Marne,

menaced alike the government and the parliament. De Retz, too, carried on his opposition successfully in all quarters; excited the passions of the people more and more, and stimulated the more furious members of the parliament till they passed a resolution for revoking the powers given to the deputies.

As soon as this fact was announced, both the court and the deputies themselves saw that all was lost unless some fortunate accident changed the feelings of the parliament. The noble determination, however, of one of the deputies, the president De Mesmes, saved the country from a prolongation of the horrible state into which it had fallen, although the faults of others soon after replunged it into civil war and confusion. The terror with which Mazarin was inspired by the determined attitude assumed by the Parisian generals was not without cause. The position which had been chosen by the Duke of Bouillon, between the Seine and Marne, was held by even Condé himself to be impregnable by any force that the court could bring against it. Ten thousand well-disciplined troops occupied that spot, the archduke was upon the frontier with double the number, and reports were not wanting to make the minister believe that the Spanish army was already on its march for Paris. At the same time, no news had yet reached him regarding the success of his measures with the army of Turenne; and there was the greatest probability

that ere ten days more had passed forty thousand veteran soldiers, engaged to support the Fronde, would be within a day's march of Paris, to which force nothing could be opposed but the small body of men under Condé.

Mazarin did not hesitate to reveal his apprehensions to the president De Mesmes, and to add, that he doubted not that the generals would force from him such conditions as would leave the crown but a shadow of power in France. De Mesmes saw the situation of the country in the same light, and replied, " Since things are in this state, we (the deputies) must risk our persons to save the state—we must sign the peace ; for after what the parliament has done to-day, there is no medium, and perhaps it will recall us to-morrow. We risk everything : if we are disavowed, they will shut the gates of Paris against us, they will put us on our trial, they will treat us as prévaricators and traitors. It is your business, then, to give us conditions which may justify our proceedings. It is your interest to do so, since if they are reasonable we shall be able to make use of them against the factious. Nevertheless, make them just what you please, I will sign them all ; and I go this moment to tell the chief president, that such is my opinion, and the only hope of saving the kingdom. If we succeed, we have peace ; if we are disavowed, we weaken at all events the faction, and the evil will fall upon none but ourselves."

Such ideas, as may well be supposed, met with a favourable reception from the intrepid Matthew Molé. He and De Mesmes laboured hard to persuade the rest of the deputies; even Longueil was gained; and the articles of peace were drawn up at Ruel on the next day, the 11th of the month. The deputies, the princes and the ministers signed them, and the only difficulty was in regard to Mazarin. The deputies strongly opposed his affixing his signature to the treaty of peace, alleging that they could not present an act that bore it to the parliament, which had pronounced more than one decree against him. Mazarin, however, was too politic to admit, even tacitly, the right of the parliament to pronounce those decrees, and he therefore persisted in placing his signature to the document, which contained one-and-twenty articles.

The most important of these were, the first, which engaged the parliament to proceed to St. Germain, where the king was to hold a bed of justice in order to publish the articles of peace; the second, which imported that there should be no general assembly of the chambers for a year, except upon the occasions of ordinary ceremonial; the fifth, that the army of Paris should be immediately disbanded, and the king's forces removed from the neighbourhood of the capital; the sixth, by which the citizens of Paris were bound to lay down their arms generally; and the ninth by which an amnesty was granted to all who had taken



arms on the part of the parliament, provided they declared their adhesion to the treaty within a certain time. Others went to annul all the decrees of the parliament since the beginning of the year, and all the royal decrees against individuals for acts committed in the course of the war. Some vague promises were held out in regard to the taxes, to the conclusion of a general peace with Spain, and to bringing back the king to Paris : and on the other side, it was agreed that the envoys of the archduke should be sent back without a reply.

Such a treaty was, certainly, anything but advantageous to the parliament ; but so great was the desire of peace on all parts, except on the side of the generals, that there can be no doubt those terms would have been accepted at once without murmur or hesitation, if means had not been taken to stir up the people, and to excite the passions of the more rash and violent members of the parliament itself. The very fact of Mazarin having been permitted to sign the treaty, was sufficient to give a colouring of truth, whatever imputation the leaders of the Fronde might think fit to throw upon the deputies. However, on the morning of the 13th of March 1649, the chief president Molé and his fellow members of the deputation presented themselves before the parliament for the purpose of giving an account of the negotiation which they had just concluded, and a scene of tumult and confusion ensued such as Paris had then seldom witnessed. Before the de-

puties entered, the parliament had been considerably agitated both by natural expectation, and by the insinuations, calumnies, and rumours which the leaders of the faction had not scrupled to throw out. Nor was the city more tranquil: for while a large body in the parliament expressed an intention of disavowing the act of the deputation, the people invaded the outer courts of the Palais de Justice, and clamoured loudly for the blood of those whom they accused of selling their country to Mazarin. De Retz would fain persuade his readers that he was guiltless of the tumult which took place on this eventful day, and very probably it went farther than he intended; but his own statements suffer a number of factious manœuvres to appear which leave him in no degree blameless.

The generals had concerted their measures beforehand, and had arranged everything that was to be said and done by them and the parliament in order to throw discredit upon the deputies and cause their acts to be disavowed; but the impetuosity of the Duke d'Elbeuf, who had received some private information from St. Germain, caused him to deviate from the plan laid down. As soon as the first president rose to present his report, he demanded rudely if the deputies had taken care of the interests of the generals. The first president, without taking any notice of his application, proceeded to read his report, as the only reply required; but he was stopped almost immediately: for no sooner did he

mention the word peace, than his voice was overwhelmed by a confused noise ; every one throughout the hall crying out, that there was no peace, that the powers of the deputies had been revoked, and that they had abandoned shamefully the interests both of the generals, and of those members of the parliament who had joined in the decree of union.

It was long before the outcry could be in any degree silenced ; but as soon as the Prince de Conti could make his voice heard, he said, in a mild tone, which was but the more calculated to irritate the minds of those who heard him, that he was much astonished indeed that the deputies should have concluded any treaty without a reference to himself and the other generals. The reply of the first president to this observation was simple and straightforward. The generals themselves had declared, he said, that whatever contented the parliament would content them. They might moreover, he added, have sent deputies to the conference themselves if they had thought proper ; but they had declined to do so. This observation was unanswerable, and the generals found their own artful proceeding in refusing to send deputies now turned against themselves. Under these circumstances, the Duke of Bouillon had recourse to one of those popular methods of evading the point of the argument, which, without bringing any reasonable reply, irritate the minds of the hearers more than if a regular logical answer is given. He said, that

“ Since the deputies had agreed that Mazarin should remain prime minister, the only favour he had to demand of the parliament was, to obtain for him a passport in order to quit a country where he could no longer remain in safety.”

According to the account of De Retz, no one was more skilful in insinuating a false position into his discourse unobserved, and then arguing upon it as if it were admitted, than the Duke of Bouillon. Thus, in assuming that the deputies had agreed that Mazarin should remain prime minister, the Duke imputed to them an enormous offence in the eyes of the parliament ; and by affecting to demand his passport, he impressed upon the minds of his hearers a high idea of the conviction which he entertained of the vast importance of the error the deputies had committed. Molé, in reply, showed scarcely less skill ; for, insinuating with sarcastic truth the real motives by which all the generals were actuated, he assured the Duke of Bouillon that his private interests had been particularly taken care of. Bouillon felt the sting, and answered at once, that he would in no point separate his own interests from those of the other generals.

Although such a reply did not relieve the whole faction from the imputation of seeking their own private interests to the detriment of their country, it excited acclamations in the parliament, as if it had been most generous and noble. The tumult and confusion recommenced with redoubled vio-

lence; the president De Mesmes, who was looked upon as favouring Mazarin, was covered with invectives and abuse till he trembled like an aspen leaf; and the Duke of Beaufort, becoming heated with the noise and excitement, laid his hand upon his sword with a bombastic air, and declared that it should never be drawn for a Mazarin, in such a tone as very nearly to have turned the whole business into ridicule. It was then proposed by the president De Coigneux, that the deputies should be sent back to Ruel, in order to amend the treaty, and to provide for the interests of the generals. In the midst of his speech, however, most tremendous sounds were heard from the outer halls of the palace; and though the president De Bellière stood up to second him, he could not make himself heard on account of the tumult without.

After a pause full of terror and apprehension, the doors of the hall were opened by an usher, who, pale and trembling, announced that the mob demanded the presence of the Duke of Beaufort. That prince went forth, harangued the people after his own peculiar fashion, and contrived to pacify them for the time. No sooner had he re-entered the hall, however, than the tumult recommenced, and the president De Novion went forth to see what was the matter. As soon as he entered the outer hall, Duboisle, a ruined advocate and popular demagogue, advanced upon him at the head of an immense crowd armed with poniards, and demand-

ed that the treaty of peace should be given up to them, in order that the signature of Mazarin might be burned in the Place de Grève by the hands of the common executioner. He farther required that the deputies should be hanged if they had signed the peace with their own consent; and if they had been compelled to do so, that their act should be formally disavowed.

It was with great difficulty that the president De Novion escaped from the hands of the mob; but he nevertheless contrived to quiet them for the time with a good deal of dexterity. He represented to Duboisle and his companions, that they could not burn the signature of Mazarin without burning that of the Duke of Orleans, who was in some degree a favourite with the multitude; he assured them also, that the parliament was in the very act of sending back the deputies in order to amend the treaty; and he was then permitted to return to the inner hall. The tumult without, however, still continued; the mob that surrounded the building and filled all the outer courts was tremendous; and the rush and roar, the shouts and imprecations of the multitude, poured through all the doors and windows, and shook some of the stoutest hearts of those within. In the midst of it all, however, the chief president, though knowing himself the chief object of the popular fury, rose with unchanged tranquillity, and, with the same calm dignity which he displayed on every occasion, put the resolutions

of Dr Coigneux and Bellièvre, took the votes with clear accuracy, and announced the decree of the parliament; which decree imported, that the deputies should return to Ruel to treat of the interests of the generals, and that Cardinal Mazarin should not be permitted to affix his signature to any of the documents concerning the settlement of peace.

From seven in the morning till five in the evening the parliament had now continued sitting, and the tumult amidst which it had commenced its deliberations was increasing every instant instead of diminishing. The moment, however, that the decree was pronounced, Matthew Molé quitted the president's chair, and prepared to go forth to return to his own house. Not the slightest alteration was visible upon his countenance, and it would have seemed that he was utterly insensible of his danger. Every one, however, within that hall felt and knew that his life was not secure for a moment in the midst of the infuriated populace without; but even those who were most opposed to him were so touched and struck by his magnanimous intrepidity, that they resolved to make every effort to save him. All the leaders of the Fronde endeavoured to persuade him not to go out into the great hall, which was filled with a crowd worked up unto madness and thirsting for his blood; and De Retz himself entreated him to pass round by one of the side doors, and thus avoid the multitude. Molé,

however, replied, without showing one sign of fear, "The court never conceals itself; and were I certain of perishing, I would not commit so base an action; which, moreover, would serve no purpose but to give greater boldness to the seditious. If they believed that I feared them here, they would soon find me in my own house."

De Retz then besought him at all events to wait till he had endeavoured to tranquillize the people; but Molé, justly believing that the tumult was in a great degree to be attributed to the instigations of the coadjutor, replied with a bitter smile, "Well, my good lord, well! pray give them the word."

Though evidently mortified at being discovered and contemned, De Retz went out, harangued the multitude, and hoping that they would give a free passage to the chief president and the deputies, returned to the body of the parliament, which now began to move forth in procession, with Matthew Molé at its head. As soon as he appeared, however, the tumult recommenced; nothing was heard but shouts and imprecations, and a scene of riot took place which had nearly terminated in a massacre. The excited passions of the people approached to madness. One of the mob, taking the Duke of Bouillon for Mazarin, to whom he bore not the slightest resemblance, presented a musket at him, and was with difficulty prevented from blowing his brains out. Another levelled a pistol



at the head of the chief president, so near as to touch him with the muzzle. Molé, however, did not even bend his head, but gazed calmly in the man's face, saying, "When you have killed me, I shall want nothing but six feet of earth;" and advanced upon his way with an untroubled step. Such intrepidity had its effect even upon the people, and they suffered him to pass, while De Retz and his companions now did all that they possibly could to allay that tumult, which there can be little doubt they had been the first to instigate.

During the two or three next days, while Molé and the other deputies proceeded once more to Ruel to negotiate the necessary alterations in the treaty, great tranquillity reigned in Paris, De Retz taking no steps to rouse up the people to farther movements, though he was very well satisfied to have shown the parliament, and, through it, the court, how completely he had the populace at command. In the mean time, he and the other leaders of the Fronde were somewhat embarrassed in regard to their farther proceedings; each one was anxious for his own interests alone; but all had talked so loudly of their disinterestedness, and of their devotion to their country, that mere decency required some notice to be taken of the public weal in their dealings with the court. They had also entangled themselves so deeply in their negotiations with Spain, that it was difficult to conclude anything without labouring for the interests of

that power; and, in order both to keep the court at arm's-length till all their own individual purposes were served, to work apparently for the good of the country while they were striving really for their own, and to fulfil in some degree their engagements with Spain, they determined to exact from the court, as the price of their submission, that the pacification should be general, and comprise the foreign country with which they had leagued themselves, as well as the city of Paris itself.

This bold counsel would in all probability have been successful had it been adopted three or four days before. The rapid motions, however, of the deputies had left behind even the Fronde; and when this proposal, seconded by the Duke of Bouillon, was adopted by all the rest of the generals, it was no longer possible to execute it. Don Gabriel de Toledo arrived in Paris on the eve of the 16th of March, bearing with him a complete ratification of the treaty entered into between the Fronde and Spain. The determination had just been formed by the generals, of insisting upon a peace with that country; but on the very same night came a courier from the Rhine, bearing to the Duke of Bouillon the disastrous tidings, that Turenne had been abandoned by his army, and that the Fronde was consequently utterly powerless, except by its influence over the people of Paris, and its connexion with the enemies of the country.

The bands which united the various generals together were now cut in a moment, and it became evident that the scramble for security which takes place on the breaking up of a conspiracy was beginning in the faction of the Fronde. No great efforts were consequently to be expected from a party in such a situation. News reached De Retz that the Spanish army was advancing upon Paris; he saw that not only the country would be ruined, but his own power would be lost, if it proceeded unopposed, and he determined, in consequence, to do all that he could to hasten forward the conclusion of a peace with the court; though, at the same time, he resolved to shape his conduct in such a manner as to maintain his influence with the people, by making them think that he opposed the very consummation at which he aimed.

In the mean while, the deputies of the parliament, grown more and more daring by the imminent dangers they had passed through, had set out to renew the negotiations; and, strange to say, that very body which had disavowed their proceedings and reprobated their conduct on the 13th, despatched them on the 16th back to the place of conference with full and unlimited powers. At the same time, the scramble in Paris was going on amongst the party of the Fronde; and interest, which, like a magnet, had attracted them to each other, now, with its poles reversed, propelled them to separate.

The court in the mean while, seeing that it had obtained a great accession of power, became cool in its offers towards the generals; the generals, frightened at their situation, relaxed in their demands; and at length, Mazarin, after having acted for some days upon his old maxim of "I and Time," so excited the eagerness of all parties, that in the end he satisfied them by a mere shadow. The only thing which the parliament obtained, besides that which had been granted by the former treaty, was, that they were not bound any longer to proceed to St. Germain for the purpose of holding a bed of justice, as had been before arranged; and that the prohibition in regard to the assembly of the chambers should not be expressly inserted in the convention, though assured by the solemn promises of the deputies. The concessions made were comprised in a simple *lettre-de-cachet*, which announced a general amnesty, comprising by name all the principal leaders of the insurrection, and also promised, in terms which could be evaded on any pretext, various gratifications and benefits to those who claimed them.

The only person not named in the amnesty, and that by his own choice, was the coadjutor, who well knew that Mazarin was not of a character to attack a man he feared, as long as his own safety did not compel him to do so. By this politic act, De Retz maintained his influence over the people undiminished by any apparent submission to the

court; and he prepared at any time to renew the scenes of the Fronde, as soon as defeat and failure should be forgotten. A declaration was added, in which the Queen regent repeated the articles agreed upon. The letter and the declaration were read before the parliament on the appropriate 1st of April, verified and registered in due form: the parliament besought the queen to bring back the king to Paris, and consider the various interests of the generals who had fought against her: the provinces were satisfied as easily as the capital, the Parisian troops were disbanded, the siege raised, and Mazarin remained prime minister in spite of all the efforts of his enemies.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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